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ABSTRACT

This document contains 17 papers, organized in three sections, presented at a conference on Eastern and Western adult and continuing education. The following papers are included in Section I, "Ideas and Tasks of Adult Education: Views of East and West": "Imagineries of 'East and West': Slippery Curricular Signifiers in Education" (Ted T. Aoki); "'Learning Perspective' in the Asian Viewpoint" (Kim Shinil); and "Learning to Learn: Western Perspectives" (Gene Roth). The second section, "Constructing Ideas and Tasks of Adult Education: Modernity and Postmodernity Perspectives," contains the following five papers: "Traditional Modernity, Postmodernity, and Communicative Modernity: Related Issues in Constructing Roles and Learning Tasks of Adult Education" (Ramon Flecha); "Conceptualizing Our Work as Adult Educators in a Socially Responsible Way" (Phyllis Cunningham); "Modernity and Postmodernity Related Issues in Developing Ideas and Tasks of Adult Education in Korean Context" (Kyung Hi Kim); "The Post-Modern Condition: Reformulating Adult Education Pedagogy" (Mark Tennant); and "West in East and Vice Versa, or Globalization in Adult Education" (Ki Su Kim). The final section, "Adult Education Programs and Practice: The Case Studies Approach," includes these nine papers: "Center of Research for Education of Adults (CREA): Some Crucial Issues" (Ramon Flecha); "Ideological Space Makers: The Needs in Graduate Programs in Adult Education" (Phyllis Cunningham); "Senior Citizen Education in Korea: Current Status and Demands" (Ki-hyung Hong); "An Afrocentric Feminist Perspective on the Role of Adult Education for Diverse Communities" (Vanessa Sheared); "Adult Retraining in Canada: Some Issues" (Ki Su Kim); "Adult Education for a Multiethnic Community: Japan's Challenge" (Koichi Sasagawa); "Consideration of Selected Influences on Work Place Learning" (Gary Confessore et al.); "A Proposed Historiography of Adult Education" (Glenn Smith); and "Postmodernity and Continuing Education: Becoming Critical Learners" (Barry Down). Contains 19 references. (KC)

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CONSTITUTIVE INTERPLAY MIDST DISCOURSE OF EAST AND WEST : MODERNITY & POSTMODERNITY RENDERINGS IN ADULT & CONTINUNG EDUCATION

27-28 May, 1996

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International Adult & Continuing Education Conference (IACEC)
27-28 May 1996

Imaginaries of "East and West": Slippery Curricular Signifiers in Education

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> "The quotation marks around "East and West" indicate (as such marks do) the unstable identities that these propler names signify. These marks are insistant reminders that "East and West" is both an objective referent made objective through discourse and a discursive construct." (paraphrased from Marilyn Ivy, 1995, Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan . . . Univ. of Chicaga Press)

1.0 In the Midst of Modernist Imaginaries

Earlier in this century, my parents, then living on the Pacific Coast of North America, insisted that the era of the Pacific will come. Influenced, in part, by their urgings, I became a commerce student focussing on international trade at the University of British Columbia. For me, international trade meant plying the Pacific east and west. For the professor and the course, international trade meant plying the Atlantic. I mention this as a trace of dreams that later surfaced in other guises.

Then, the War came and my dream was shattered, "beckoning" a physical displacement that landed me in the prairies of Alberta in the field of education. In the latter years I was "professing" education, as a member and later chair of a curriculum department at the University of Alberta. While so situated, suppressed traces of the dreams about the Pacific surged forth. Let me offer two short narratives.

1.1 A Binary Image of East and West (Story 1)

I recall the time I served as a university representative on a Ministerial Curriculum Committee engaged in revising a Humanities program. Recognising that the time had come to enlarge our students' vision of the world, the committee was toying with new words in the lexicon such as "internationalization" or "globalization." At the Committee meeting the time came for titling the new course. Came the first suggestion through the mouth of the chair: "Western and non-Western Civilizations."

The silence that followed suggested approval. I teasingly broke in and offered: "Eastern and non-Eastern Civilizations." There was a shuffling of words and bodies indicating concern for the disappearance of the word "West." Next day, the committee compromised and settled for: "Western and Eastern Civilizations."

This retitling seems to suggest an equitable recognition of both West and East. The title indeed suggests a balancing. But when we note in the texture of the course the words "Near East" and "Far East," the adjectival "near" and "far" tell us that in this geopolitical imaginary, "near" and "far" are measurements from some central point in the West.

No doubt, then, under the semblance of equivalence in the title "Western and Eastern Civilizations," the stuff of this Humanities course was somehow complicit in Eurocentricism, the kind of imaginary which in recent years Edward Said styled Orientalism-an ideological imaginary that insists on seeing the Orient as the other side of the West.

Naive, as my image may be, the structuring of the title of the Humanities course "Western and Eastern Civilizations" can be seen as a Hegelian synthesis, with "Western and non-Western Civilizations" as the thesis, "Eastern and non-Eastern Civilizations" as the antithesis. I now see what we on the Committee had done was to employ the working of an oppositional binary, which in seeming transformation was very much complicit in sustaining naively a dualistic image with which we had begun.

One more comment: in our interest in "East and West," we have completely ignored the key word "civilization" in the title, assuming, I presume, that the word "civilization" is a universal. Today, we know of the turbulence being experienced by this signifier, so associated with the Western imaginary of liberal democracy.

1.2 Asian Scholars meet Western Scholars (Story 2)

Fortunately, on the staff of the University of Alberta, was a Korean media scholar, Dr. C.Y. Oh. So when he told us that he was visiting Korea, we requested him to be open to possibilities of meaningful contacts with educational life in Korea. He brought forth two notions:

(1) With increasing interest in English as a Second Language, he began to arrange summer visitations of ESL teachers to improve their speaking and writing.

(2) With increasing interest in Korean educators' Western scholarship, he sought out possible graduate students. The keen interest of these Korean scholars leaving Korea to come to us compelled us to ask seriously, "What is the meaning of education in an East-West context?"

Certainly, we said, they ought to come into contact with Western scholarship. But the very thought of them coming to us from Korea to study Western scholarship, and return with the same, was, it seemed, reducing education to a commodity view of education.

When they arrived we asked them why they had come to the West, and we tried to remind them that their space of life lies between Korean/Asian scholarship and Western scholarship and that merely to carry home a commodity called Western scholarship seemed wanting. We asked them, insistently, that in their dissertations, each include at least a chapter on the experiences of Korean scholars' living life at a Western University. For us it was an opportunity to question ourselves seriously, what it is to invite Eastern scholars in our midst.

Thus began our long standing contact with Korean scholars, the University of Alberta becoming a beneficiary in the warm scholarly and cultural interchanges that are still ongoing.

2.0 "East and West" within the Imaginary of Cultural Identity.

I return to the key signifier of the title of the conference -"East and West." Somehow within my imaginary, I am pulled by the capitalized terms, "East" and "West." Why am I so attracted? I respond, "I must be habituating an imaginary attuned to the substantive." By this I mean that within this imaginary, each of "East" and "West" is articulated assuming presence of its own identity-geographically, culturally, linguistically.

Stuart Hall provides us the following. Within this imaginary, according to Hall (1990, p. 223), cultural identity is defined in terms of "one shared culture, a sort of collective . . . which people with a shared history and ancestry held in common." Further, "our cultural identities reflect the common historical references and shared cultural codes which provides, as one people, with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning. . . ." For Hall, this oneness is" the truth, the essence. . . . of [people's] experience. It is the identity which we must discover, excavate to bring to light and express through representation."

The labels, "East" and "West" suggest two distinct cultural wholes, "Eastern culture" and "Western culture," each identifiable standing distinctly separate from each other.

The earlier curriculum narrative of "Western and Eastern Civilizations" was premised on this imaginary within which these two separate civilizations were claimed to be fashioned.

So understood, the term "East" and "West" is rendered as a binary of two separate pre-existing entities, which can be bridged or brought together to conjoin in an "and" when we speak of "East and West." This imaginary has been the dominant Western modernist imaginary deeply ingrained by the works of historians, anthropologists and the like.

Even more, at the University of British Columbia, this imaginary is dominant in the culture of Western education. For example, with interest in the Asia Pacific, UBC has established "the Centre for Asian Studies" consisting of the sub-categories of Korean Studies, Chinese Studies, Japanese Studies, South-East Asian Studies and Indo-Asian Studies-each a solitude formulated into a separate identity. I cite this illustration to indicate the legitimacy of this imaginary in university educational programs in the West.

3.0 The Image of "Crossing" between East and West.

Another term in the lexicon of "East and West" has been the word, "cross-cultural," emphasizing movement in getting across from one culture to another. A few years ago, in

Vancouver, an international conference in the Humanities was held under the label "Pac Rim." This label pointed to the conference's interest in movement at the rim of the Pacific Ocean. For the conferees, it seems, the rim portion of the Pacific was considered significant.

By invitation, I wrote a short article titled "Bridges that Rim the Pacific." Concerned that educators, like tourists or business people, may be overly emphasizing "crossing" from one nation to another, from one culture to another, i.e., in bridging across from land to land, I chose to play with the signifier "bridge/bridging" to query the prevailing imaginary that allows such language.

I pondered upon the usual meaning of the word "bridge" in our daily locution. Bridges abound-small bridges, long bridges, ships and planes that bridge the Pacific moving goods and people. Today, we revel in the remarkable speed, life-lines we call them, and give thanks to all these bridges (if we remember to thank them) for helping us to get across from one place to another, the speedier the better, with little time wasted the better.

But if I go to an Oriental garden, I am likely to come upon a bridge, aesthetically designed, with decorative railings, pleasing to our eyes. Such a bridge is very unlike the many bridges that cross the Han River here in Seoul. But on this bridge, we are in no hurry to cross over; in fact, such bridges urge us to linger. This in my view is a Heideggerian bridge, a site or clearing in which earth, sky, mortals and divine in their longing to be together belong together. So I wrote, "Bridges in the Pacific are not mere paths for human transit, nor are they mere routes for commerce and trade. They are dwelling places for people. The Pacific Rim invites... educators to transcend instrumentalism to understand what it means to dwell together humanly" (Aoki, 1988).

In the language of this episode, I can see myself trying to move away from the identity-centred "East and West" and into the space between East and West. And in so doing, I leaned on Heidegger's well-known critique of instrumentalism and technology, trying to undo the instrumental sense of "bridge." But have I succeeded in moving away from the identity sense of bridge?

4.0 A Short Interlude on Sign Theory

At this point let us lean on sign theory that may assist us in understanding our imaginaries. Saussure, a well-known structural linguist, showed us that the meaning of a sign is an artifact based on the relationship between signifier and signified. Jacques Lacan, a post structural psychoanalyst, reworked Saussure to enable him to split signs into doubled meanings.

$$\text{Sign} = \frac{\text{S (signifier)}}{\text{s (signified)}}$$

Within the first imaginary, the meaning of a sign assumes a vertical relationship between signifier and signified, wherein the bar between signifier (S) and signified (s) is transparent. The signifier has direct access to the signified. So for example, my identity can be portrayed by showing forth the deep me. In the past, ethnographers claimed possibility of accurate portrayals of existing cultures through contact with its essence. The signifiers "East" and "West" that I have dealt with so far have been understood within this vertical imaginary.

And even when I attempted to shift to the bridging space between East and West, my portrayal, based on Heidegger's ontological essentialism-a bridge as a site of being-was framed vertically.

But Lacan's second imaginary assumes opaqueness of the bar between signifier and signified; the signifier is barred from access to the signified. Within this imaginary, meaning arises in the midst of signifiers, horizontally arranged. In the midst of signifiers "East" and "West"?

5.0 Returning to "East and West"

I return to the terms "East and West," to try to dissolve my identity-oriented imaginary to one that allows me into the space between "East and West," to the site of "and" in a non-essentialist way.

In order to loosen my attachment to East or West as "thing," I call upon a Chinese character, (wu). It reads "nothing" or "no-thing." But I note that in "no-thing" there is already inscribed the word "thing," as if to say "'nothing' cannot be without 'thing'," and "'thing' cannot be without 'no thing'." For me, such a reading is already a move away from the modernist binary discourse of "this or that," or the imaginary grounded in an essence called "thing." And now I am drawn into the fold of a discursive imaginary that can entertain "both this and that," "neither this nor that"-a space of paradox, ambiguity and ambivalence.

So textured, I return to the "and" between "East and West" re-understanding "and" as "both 'and' and 'not-and'" that allows a space for both conjunction and disjunction.

So reframed, I revisit Heidegger's bridges, bridges of the Pacific Rim, and rethink of them as being both bridges and non-bridges. I revisit the Korean graduate students who studied with us, and rethink of their spaces as third spaces between Western scholarship and Eastern scholarship.

Here, "identity" is no mere depiction of the vertical but moveso "identification", a becoming in the space of difference. Of this imaginary on identity/identification, Stuart Hall (1990, p. 223) states:

> It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo consistent transformation. Far from being eternally fixed to some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous play of histories, culture and power. Far from being grounded in a mere recovery of the past, which is waiting to be found. . . . identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within. . . .

So understood, the tensioned space of both "and/not-and" is a space of conjoining and disrupting, indeed a generative space of possibilities, a space wherein in tensioned ambiguity newness emerges.

6.0 Where Newness Emerges

Allow me to bring forth a small example of how languages and cultures interplay in the third space of "and/not and." In a conversation with a Canadian Sinologist, our talk turned to the generative space of ambivalence between the Chinese language and the English language.

The word "individual" (an undivided person, a whole person) is alien to Orientals. Hence, in that space between the English language and the Chinese language, a term was created:

個
(divided person) 人 人 Individual (not-divided)

In composing the term, fragments were juxtaposed. The fragment ( ) means "The past is a reality that can be accessed and boxed." The fragments ( ) and ( ) mean "person," with the two lines saying that it takes at least two to make a person. In other words, a person is divided. So here is a version of "individual" transformed in the space between languages with traces of both individual identity and doubled identity-indeed, a hybrid. What kind of newness is this? Of such a construct, Ernesto Laclau (1995, P. 16) has this to say:

> [H]ybridization does not necessarily mean decline through a loss of identity; it can also mean empowering existing identities through the opening of new possibilities. Only a conservative identity, closed on itself, could experience hybridization as a loss.

Indeed, this imaginary allows envisaging of third spaces between "East and West," between and among diverse segments of the East, or between and among diverse segments of the West, as spaces of generative possibilities, spaces where newness can flow.

Conclusion:

The title of the Conference suggests to me that Korean scholars in education are alert to the postmodern deconstruction of Western modernity. And in the doubled movement which goes on in deconstruction-that is, the questioning of modernist imaginaries and their displacements-interesting work has been ongoing.

But in this doubled movement, there seem to be scholars on the double to cross from the modernist to the postmodern. In this hurry, there may have been a neglect to consider the space between doubled moves. This is the Third Space (using Honie Bhabha's term) of (無) that Asians seem to know about in their traditions of wisdom.

I mark that third space as an ambivalent space of both this and that, of both East and West, wherein the traditions of Western modernist epistemology can meet the Eastern traditions of wisdom. Could it be that such a space is the ambivalent space of modernism and non-modernism? The ambivalent space of "East and West"

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"LEARNING PERSPECTIVE" in the Asian Viewpoint

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I. Introduction

In adult education, one of the momentous tasks is to take up the challenge having been brought about by the changing of the times. Some contend that it is the beginning of the postmodern age, meanwhile, others insist that we are still living in the modern age though in somewhat much transitional times. Almost everyone agree that the present time in history is a critically transitional period, whether it is postmodern or not. Therefore we have to examine the relevance of current educational philosophies and systems in view of the transition of the times.

In this paper, I would like to propose that we can begin by examining the roots of present educational philosophy and the system. In other words, we can attempt to probe, from the foundational basis, modern educational perspectives and philosophies which have justified the existence of the modern educational system. Examining the foundational basis of modern education entails reconsideration of the prevailing concept of education and contains reconceptualization of education. This attempt to reconceptualize education accompanies reexamined views of what it means to be a human being and what society is about.

In an attempt to reexamine and reconceptualize education, I would like to elaborate two perspectives, "Learning perspective" and "Schooling perspective." I will try to explore an alternative conceptual framework of education through clarifying the relationship between teaching and learning, specifically via a comparative and critical analysis concerning schooling perspective and learning perspective.

II. "Schooling Perspective" versus "Learning Perspective"

"Schooling perspective" has furnished the foundational basis of the modern educational system. The prevailing modern understanding of education imparts that 1) human beings ought to be engaged in educational process either individually or collectively. 2) However, since human beings do not initiate education by themselves, they should be instructed by the state or authorities. "Schooling perspective" portrays instruction-centered education. It is the instructor who is responsible for the success or fail are of education. It stresses effective teaching activities. The ultimate end of education is to teach people to meet the predetermined standards or criteria.

It is a degree or certificate based education for a society to legitimize?

On the other hand, "Learning perspective" characterizes education differently. Learning here means the learners intentional activity to attain new knowledge, ways of thinking, skill, norms, etc. "Learning perspective" trusts human beings' inherent learning capabilities and respects learners' self-initiative learning. It confirms self-initiated and self-direct learning. "Learning perspective" recognizes that human beings are learning animals or 'homo studens'. This implies confers that human beings have strong learning needs and inherent learning capabilities. Hence, if not prevented and repressed by other forces, human beings are continuously engaged in learning. From the "learning perspective" point of view, learning occurs primarily by learners' active and self-initiated and self-directed learning activities even though learning can often be facilitated by advanced learners or teachers. This reclaims the mistaken belief that teachers' instruction initiates and brings about learning. Learners do not always learn as teachers teach them. Instruction itself does not necessarily generate learning but plays the part of assisting for learning. According to "Learning perspective," teachers are needed for the sake of learners.

Learning, in "Learning perspective," is oriented to develop connectedness in whole life (Confucius emphasized the continuous search for the attainment of human way) rather than to acquire partial skills or specific techniques. Since the Asian orientation toward wholeness in life necessitates lifelong learning and never-ending searches, this learning cannot be finished and certified by formal schooling, and it includes nonformal and informal contextual learning, not just formal learning. Moreover, learning is a lifelong search which is directed toward articulating questions of what human beings are, and what human beings should attain in order to live as human beings. That is to say, this lifelong search pertains to the problems of identity, commitment, conviction, and meaning of life which can be clarified through engaging in critical reflection of oneself within society with other human beings. The ultimate goal of education in the "Learning perspective" is to attain and advance self-understanding and perfection of self in life.

Then, why and how has "Schooling perspective" been the foundation for the modern educational system and the dominant educational viewpoint over "Learning perspective"? The majority of educators, anthropologists, and social scientists tend to believe that human beings' achievement of civilizations are the consequences of teaching. Margaret Mead, an anthropologist is one of those who believes that way. According to her, learning is engaged in by human beings as well as animals, teaching is uniquely a human invention. She further suggests that anthropologists, therefore, in their study and research, should put more effort and emphasis on teaching than on learning (Mead, 1970:72).

Clearly, Mead exaggerated the effects of teaching. Her overestimated belief in teaching is related to commonly noticed, mistaken perception that teaching necessarily generates learning. I think that this perception is problematic. We all experience that learners do not understand and learn all the things that are taught in school. Students sometimes refuse to accept teaching, and even criticize and resist the teacher. On the other hand, learners learn something even though they are not taught in school. There are a number of instances where persons who are do not schooled and not attend any educational program have developed higher judgment and understanding than those who have been schooled. There are a number of great men (women) who are self-educated.

Ob iously, persons attain great valuable knowledge, ways of thinking, life rules, functions, and emotional taste through self-initiated and self-directed learning activities in everyday life contexts. The perception which puts stress on teaching while neglecting learning hence, should be reexamined.

I, furthermore, shall propose that we should reconsider the view that the development of civilization is the result of teaching. I argue that all those great ideas and inventions are the consequences of scholars' own intensive studies, inquiries, and learning activities rather than the result of receiving teaching. Even though teaching can contribute to the creation and development of new or refined ideas and knowledge, it is a sweeping statement that teaching activities themselves create new ideas and knowledge. Additionally new ideas and knowledge are developed and created by learning activities.

This paper attempts to analyze and to characterize the foundational basis of "Schooling perspective" through comparing it to "Learning perspective." It is expected that "Learning perspective" offers a valuable point of view in the attempt to search for an altenative concept on education.

It seems that the roots of "Schooling perspective" are grounded in the West and the roots of "Learning perspective" are in Asia. This difference of roots might help us to understand why the modern educational system is hard to establish firmly in the Asian culture. Additionally, we might better locate the origins of commonly noticed conflicts between the Western and Asian education.

III. Roots of "Schooling Perspective"

State-directed schooling has been the predominant educational idea in the modern age. This is the foundational philosophy which justifies and supports the modern schooling system. Even though this educational idea originated from the ancient Greeks, it was systematically developed in the 19th century along with the formation of modern states and industrialization. This schooling system was first established in the West, and has spread to the whole world during the 19th and 20th centuries. It has come to dominate and characterize modern educational philosophy.

Even though schooling systems might be different by country in terms of management and organization, we can characterize common features of state-directed schooling as follows(Kim, 1994:209-210).

1. From In the standpoint of state-directed schooling, human beings are recognized as a national or a member of a nation first. That is to say, it prioritizes membership of a nation to the development of an individual human being.
2. Since people are not born with the property and disposition to be the members of a certain state, it is obligatory for people to be taught to be members of a state.
3. The state has the right to be in charge of and responsible for the instruction of people.
4. The state should form the public educational system in order to carry out

education of the state. The state is responsible for establishingand managing schooling as the core of the public educational system. Private educational institutions should be under the surveillance of the public educational system.
5. States should decide the terms for compulsory schooling for people to be schooled. Compulsory schooling is, in principle, free of charge.

State-directed schooling now dominates educational systems in countries all over the world, regardless of whether they are communist or capitalist countries; whether in the East or in the West; whether rich or poor. In this sense, the "state-directed schooling" system is the core educational or character of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The roots or foundational ideas of "state-directed schooling" can be traced to the ancient Greek and Christianity culture. The educational ideas of the ancient Greeks, Jews and the Christians have strongly pervaded the modern educational system. Below I will discuss some educational views of the ancient Greeks and Christians.

1. Educational Views of the Ancient Greeks

The most representative state-directed educational system had been conceived by Plato who considered a state-directed educational system the kernel of his concept of the ideal republic. Plato, in his book, The Republic and Laws, elucidated the basic philosophy of state-directed education, and moreover, laid out systematic outlines and management plans for state-directed education. Often, Plato's educational viewpoints are discussed centering around only The Repulic. However, the educational discussion of The Repulic was mainly the suggestions for production of ruling elites, In the Laws, Plato depicted education for the general public which formed the foundation of the state. Therefore, with only The Republic, we cannot comprehend the full description of Plato's ideas concerning state-directed education. Nevertheless, educational interest has been concentrated around Plato's elite-centered education whereas his design for education of the mass of people depicted in the Laws, has often been neglected. The reason for this seems to be that European educators, who have been preoccupied with elite-oriented education, predominantly have introduced and discussed Plato's educational viewpoints of The Republic.

In order to understand Plato's educational viewpoints, we need to clarify his views about human beings and society. Plato, in The Republic, assumed that every society, whether its nature is simple or complex, is established by two basic principles. The one is that since every human being is deficient by oneself, one cannot help but form some communities and societies for survival. The other is that since every human being is born with different talent and capability, each human being's social role is necessarily different (Plato, 102-103). These two principles were further elaborated by Aristotle's books of Nicomachean Ethics and Politics. These ideas of Plato's and Aristotle's concerning the nature of human beings and the necessity of social organizations for human life encompass their views about the roles of education in relation to human beings and society. According to Plato and Aristotle, education should bridge the gap between human being and societiys so that all human beings perform their role in the society successfully and overcome the deficienies that each has when alone.

This means that Plato considered human beings, above all, members of a state and perceive the goal of education is to produce functional members for a state. Maintaining a society or state itself requires that members of a state ought to be educated. Therefore, state should occupy the right to educate members of a state. State should have the authority and be in charge of instating and managing educational organizations. What Plato had in mind about education is that educational system should be under the total governance of a state: state should control instituting schools, curriculums, appointment and discipline of teachers, and advancement to higher class and entrance to higher schooling. In a word, Plato promoted state-directed education in full sense. This reflects a pivotal aspect of Plato's educational viewpoints, that is, education should not be a matter of individual's free choice or decision.

In Plato's time, private educational activities such as private tuition at home and private teaching by Sophists were the common educational forms. These private educational activities, Plato considered, could not bring up commanding and firm consiousness sufficient to win over the competition with Sparta. Plato was keenly aware of Spartan educational mode and might sense and urgency to form counter educational system against Sparta. Probably, that could be why he designed national, state-directed educational plans. Under this state-directed educational system, education could not be in the hands of parents and of private individuals. This could illustrate that Plato was negative about freedom for education. He must have doubted the potentialities of private learning activities that the learner pursued one's own learning either for oneself or by looking for a good teacher on one's own. These kind freedom for personal learning and education, Plato must have believed, obstructed the development of "just society" moreover, impaired state's survival itself.

Plato apparently underestimated people's personal learning potentialities and capabilities. This neglect of Plato have come to be the dominant educational tendency: distrust toward learners have come to be prevalent. Therefore, most educational theories and practices have been focused on effective teaching methods. In other words, rather than supporting learners' effort to learn by or for oneself, major interest of dominant educational theories and practices have been to frame learners to engage in learning or to learn unconsciously through devising forceful educational methods and materials sufficient for warranting educational success.

For example, in the book I and II of the Laws, a purposeful educational method, "coercing-drinking," is described. This "coercing-drinking" was used to discipline students for overcoming fear and temptation. Generally, when a person drinks, one becomes highly emotioanl and this weakens one's judgment. Plato believed that students should be well disciplined by coerced-drinking to overcome the influence of emotions and to hold one's power of reason. The best discipline for this purpose could be met, according to Plato, by fortifying the feeble position of human being in terms of maintaining one's reason. A person's weak position (being easily governed by emotional temptation and lost one's self-control) is generally revealed when one get drunk. If one could avoid temption and retain one's self control even under the influence of alcohol, one's feebleness could be strengthened. Even though this educational method, "coercing-drinking," might appear to be trivial matter to us, it was very seriously thought out teaching method. In Athens, during the Plato's time, it was against the law for under 18 years old male to drink alcohol and for under 30 years old male to get drunk. Drinking was prohibited to the slaves, soldiers, administers, and sailors. There was a law that did not allow to drink alcohol before dinner time (Guthrie, 1978: 326). In this kind of society, coercing students drink for educational purpose reflects that this teaching method was very carefully and professionally designed.

It is evident that Plato must have felt the necessary to develop professional educational method. The educational method which could surely guarantee the expected result, was, above all, imperative. In this sense, Plato might anticipate development of educational foundations which could bring forth assured, powerful, and effective educational mehtods. This educational viewpoints of Plato have come to be prevalent modern educational viewpoints as well as studies of education.

2. Educational Views of Christianity

Educational views of Christianity are based on the acknowledgment of the Almighty God and the relations that the God has to the human beings. Human beings are creatures of the God and must be under the determining influence of omnipotent God. This is the relations that the human being must have to the divine God (Castle, 1961:326). All the knowledge and normative principles of human beings are originated from the Creator, rather than human beings themselves create and conceive all those things. Moreover, for Christianity the God is only one and disavow existence of any other gods. If there is any god, it is believed to be Satan or devil. Hence, all the knowledge and principles are derived from only one source. Human beings simply receive and carry out the knowledge and principles that are given to by God.

The Job in the Old Testament elucidate views about relationship between human beings and the God, and educational views in the standpoint of Christianity. The man named Job was described to Satan by the God, "Have you considered my servant Job? There is no one earth like him; he is blameless and upright, a man who fears God and shuns evil" (Job, 1:8). This clearly tells that Job whether he would still keep his integrity and his faith or not, even with the dreadful crucibles, so the God decided to test Job by taking away Job's all assets, his children, and even his health. Nevertheless, Job perseveres all the crucibles without any complaint or blame toward the God.

However, what was uncovered throughout the crucibles was that Job believed in the truth and worship the God via his own judgment and will. For this attitude of Job, God angered and reprimanded him. What the God said, "how can you, the creature, comprehend the will of the creator, the God?" Only after Job confessed that he could not have any judgment, will and capability without dependence on the God, Job could get released from the crucibles and received much more new bequest and grace. Job completely surrender himself to the God as follows:

> Then Job replied to the Lord: "I know that you can do all things; no plan of yours can be thwarted. You asked, 'Who is this that obscures my counsel without knowledge?' Surely I spoke of things I did not understand, things too wonderful for me to know. You said, 'Listen now, and I will speak; I will question you, and you shall answer me.' My ears had heard of you but now my eyes have seen you.

Therefore I despise myself and repent in dust and ashes (Job, 42:1-6).

The relationship between the God and the human beings, not only in the Old Testament but also in the New Testament, had not changed at all. Still, all the knowledge, truths, and principles are originated only from the God. Moreover, human beings are saved, which is the most fundamental matter in the Christianity, by the grace of the God not by human beings' own efforts. Therefore, in the educational standpoint of Christianity, no humans' teaching and learning are allowed without having the right relationship between the God and the human beings. In a word, freedom for teaching or freedom for learning cannot be allowed and acknowledged. Furthermore, there can be no such thing that human beings learn and understand on their own way. Even if it's possible, it would bring forth onbly God's wrath.

In summary, educational standpoints of Christianity is completely one-sided, top to down, education. Learners are like empty bowl and it is totally up to the God and the church what to fill up the bow. Learners are only to receive.

3. "Schooling Perspective": Basic Viewpoint of the Western Education

Through locating roots of schooling perspective in the Greek philosopher, Plato and in the Christianity, manifested in the relationship between the God and the human beings, we have attempted to propose that schooling perspective is the representative Western educational viewpoints. Even though there might be some differences between educational viewpoints of Plato's and those of Christianity's, there is one common character. It is teacher-oriented and teacher-directed deducational viewpoints. Education is determined by what and how teachers are to teach. Furthermore, teachers own the right to direct education. Here, what teachers imply can be a state, the God, or the church. In this instance, common teachers or instructors are only appointed practitioners, assigned by a state or by the church. Some might designate instructors as professionals. However, what educational professionals usually means is that they know how to instruct, impose, or indoctrinate the given curriculum and objective of education to the learners. It never means that teachers decide purposes and contents of education.

Generally, educational activities consist of teaching activities and learning activities. It is evident that the educational viewpoints of Plato and Christianity are centered around teaching activities. Learning activities are subsumed under general educational activities. Learning activities are important part of educational activities for the reason that learners should try to receive for sure, with no deficiency, all the teachings. This edifies that learners, ultimately, cannot be the subjects but are the objects of education. Schooling, no doubt, manifests subjects (teachers) and objects (students) relationship in education. In short, schooling is a typical teachers-centered and teacher-directed educational form. Therefore, by "schooling perspective" I mean to characterize teachers-centered and teacher-directed educational viewpoints.

The educational viewpoints of Plato and Christianity have been smoothly consolidated with Western culture and history and have come to be the foundational basis of modern state-directed educational system which role has been greatly enhanced with industrialization age. Obviously, the essential substance of state-centered and directed educational system has been schooling.

IV. Roots of "Learning Perspective" : Asian Educational Viewpoints

The Asian educational viewpoints are mainly rooted in Confucianism and Buddhism. These educational viewpoints have been constituted on the base of Asian philosophy of relations between human being and sociey, and between human being and nature.

1. Confucian Views of Education

In the standpoint of Confucian philosophy, the individuals and the society, moreover, natures and the universe are not isolated to each other but integrated into one. In short, the heaven and the human beings are one. The relationship between the individual and the unity is like the relationship a universe has to the Universe. The relationship between human beings and the nature is understood as "a human being is a universe; the Universe is a giant life." (Jin, 1989: 31-49). These Asian views is contrasted to the Western views. Whereas the Weaterns regard an individual as merely a part to the whole and perceive human beings, nature, and the god to be separated existence, the Asians understand that each of an individual and the whole is complete being: an individual is little life and the whole is a giant life. Moreover, according to the Asian views, since a human being and the god are not separated, a human beings's steadfast cultivation can lead one to become a god, that is to say, the Asians perceive that a god and a human being can be integrated one.

Confucianism also stresses that a human being can make oneself either inferior person or superior person according to one's own endeavor to learning, inquiry, and self-discipline. In brief, any one who persistently learns, searches, inquires, and disciplines can be a god-like person or Holy Man.

In Confucianism, human beings are classified into 16 grades according to the qualitiy of human nature that each one attains through learning and self-dicipline. They are as follows, in order from the highest to the lowest.

> Holy Man (聖人), Wise Man (賢人), Man of Virtue (仁者), Great Man (大人), Man of Nobleness (君子), Man of Maturity (成人), Man of Goodness (善人), Man of Golden Mean (中行), Man of Progressive (狂者), Man of Fastidiousness (狷者), Man of Intellect (知者), Man of Constancy (有恒者), Rustic (野人), Mean Man (小人), Man of Selfishness (鄙夫), Man of Falsehood (鄉原). (Jin, 1986:143).

Theses grades are conceived as not native, but as formative through learning and discipline.

In the classics of Confucian philosophy, there are few principles or methods about teaching activites but a great deal of discussions are concentrated on philosophies, principles, and ways for learning, self-discipline, and self-perfection. One of the Confucious's major works, the Great Learning (大學), begins with "Ways for great learning is . . . ." (大學之道). And the

Analects (論語) begins with "learning" (學) and ends with "knowing" (知).

Lee Yul-gok (1530-1584), one of the great Korean scholar in the Chosun dynasty, in his book, Gyuk Mong Yo Gyul, or Essential Way to Conquer Ignorance (擊蒙要訣), offered some advise in detail about learning activities not teaching activities. In another book, titled Rules for Learners (學校模範), he preseted the 16 rules for learners, as followings (Lee, 1972:111-119).

> Setting aim of learning and life (立志), Caring conduct and behavior (檢身), Reading (讀書), Speaking with prudence (愼言), Attitude of Mind (存心), Respecting parent (事親), Respecting teacher (事師), Fraternity (擇友), Conduct in family (居家), Human relationship (接人), Taking examinations (應擧), Keeping justice (守義), Virtue and courage (尙忠), Acting with prudence (篤敬), Observing rules in learnig places (居學), Regular reading of rule books for learners (讀法).

For Korean people, the most fundamental purpose and supreme task of human beings has been to perfect one's human character, that is, self-perfection. They have believed that the human purpose could be attained by their own learning effort and continuos striving.

2. Buddhist Views of Education

Buddhism, likewise, does not separate individual from the Universe but integrates the two as one. According to Buddhism, all human beings reserve disposition of Buddha, that is, Buddhist disposition. Therefore, the Buddha or the god is not isolated from the human beings.

> Among the individuals, there is the whole; and among the whole, there is an individual. An individual is the whole; and the whole is an individual. (Avatamska, a Buddhist scripture)

Consequently, anyone who reaches to a true realization becomes a Buddha. For Buddhism, I, people and the Buddha, are all the same. Human beings strive to become a Buddha through intense and continuos search and realization.

Buddhism is divided into two: the one is scripture-oriented Buddhism and the other Zen or meditation-oriented Buddhism. Whereas the former focuses to achieve attainment of Nirvana through studying scripture and comprehending the doctrines, the latter acquires attainment of Nirvana through meditation rather than through knowledge or logic. Regardless of this difference, the ultimate purpose of Buddhist search is to attain Buddhahood which necessarily includes self-understanding. Therefore, each self is the subject and the center.

People do not reach 'becoming Buddha' in the same way and at the same time. There might be a person who attain higher level of attainment than the others. This person could help others to understand life or the universe. In Buddhism, there is a saying that "to upward, seek to understand and realize and to downward, endeavor to guide and to teach people"(Park, 1981). This view of a person's (who precedes attainment of self-realization than the others) helping others is well illustrated by the following description, Chul-Tak, "when a chicken is trying to hatched out, the chicken exerts to picking the egg to break inside and the hen can help picking the egg to break outside" (Park, 1981:70). It can be guessed that picking the egg to break and being hatched is associated with the attainment of self-realization and chicken's efforts to picking the egg to break is like intentional personal learning endeavor.

3. "Learning Perspective": Basic Viewpoint of Asian Education

What would the Asians who have distinctive world views, develop their educational prospect? Systematically formed education? Imposing or instructing the given educational objectives and curriculum by implementing scientific methods? If these activities are regarded as educational activities, these are not what the Asians have in mind in their concept of education. Even though the Asians have some interest in teaching activities, they have not put that strong emphasis on educational systems, curriculum, and methods for teaching as the Westerns have done so. The Asians, on the other hand, put more values to learning than to teaching. What the Asians intend to attain is ways for learning rather than ways for teaching.

Asian educational version seems fundamentally different from the Western teacher-centered and teacher-directed edcational viewpoints. Breaking the egg is up to chicken not to hen. Only after the chicken initiates breaking the egg inside, the hen could help to break the egg. It is not the hen outside the egg but the chicken inside the egg that directs its effort to break the egg. That is to say, in educational activities, the center is the learner not the teacher. The ways to achieve something through studying is not given and determined to the learners. The subject of educational search is the learner not the teacher. Self-realization, whether attained or not, is up to learner who directs and pursues one's own learning. It is the learner who is primarily responsible for the level of attainment in character development.

Asians' learner-oriented point of view is clearly demonstraed by the attitudes of parents to their children's school performance. A study reveals that oriental (Japanese and Taiwanese) parents and teachers believe that all children have the potential to master challenging academic tasks if they work hard enough. In contrast, many more Ameican parents and teachers regard native ability as the key to academic success (Stevenson, 1992).

V. Limits and Potentialities of the Two Perspective: Toward An Alternative Concept of Education

It has been discussed that whereas Western educational viewpoints are centered around "schooling perspective," "learning perspective" is the representative Asan educational viewpoints. However, in an attempt to reconceptualize education, the two perspective cannot be either-or matter. When we think about educational process, everyone is a learner as well as a teacher, In our lifelong learning process, we in some sense or the other, constantly learn something from the others and influence others to learn. Therefore, the concept of education should embrace learning activities and teaching activities together.

However, when the prevailing concept of education is considered, the two aspects are not harmoniously synthethized. Rather, it can be claimed that "schooling perspective" has dominated almost all areas of education: educational philosophies, curriculum, educational methods, educational management, and educational systems. This dominance of "schooling perspective" has led to totalizing effect to the formation of the concept of edcuation. Any activities which are out of the frameworks of "schooling perspective" are not defined as appropriate educational activities. According to Western educational viewpoints, that is "schooling perspective," traditional learning activities of the natives in the third world countries have been determined as non-educational activities. To this colonialistic effect in terms of defining education, the following questions can be raised: should the concept of education be defined only by Western views of educational viewpoints-"schooling perspective"? Can schooling system embrace all the educational activities? It is argued that prevailing concept and activities of education are dominantly circumscribed by Western educational viewpoints, consequently, narrowed educational concept and actviities. This is one of the reasons that we should reconceptualize education. For this purpose, I shall further analyze some limits and potentialities of modern schooling system.

1. Limits and Potentialities of Modern Schooling System

Schooling has double functions: one function is to enlighten and emancipate people, and the other function could be to domesticate and dominate people, these double funcitons of schooling are closely related to limits and potentialities of schooling-oriented education. On the one hand, schooling-based education (since it is generally state-directed education) might have contributed to increasing opportunities to learn for more people. These increased educational opportunities could contribute to effecting mobility. Education could assist people to overcome given status or class determined by birth and help people to gain some important means to move upward. If more people have chances to learn in order to become enlightened and emancipated from ignorance and restriction, education can surely give positive impact for democratization. In short, schooling-based education has potentiality for broadening learning opportunity for people.

However, limits of "schooling perspective" oriented education can be located in its subject (teacher) and object (student) dichotomy-based edcation. This dichotomy rationalizes teacher's control over the student who is merely an object. Compared to the subject who can discern between the good and the bad and who are able to choose the best way, the object is deficient in these capabilities. According to this dichotomy, the teachers are always superior to the students. Therfore, it is very natural for the students (object) to be directed and governed by the teachers (subject). Surely, this subject and object dichotomy based edcation fosters teacher-centered education.

It is evident that this dichotomy presuppose unequal relationship between the subject (the teacher) and the object (the student). Additionally, this dischotomy has an impact to divide people into the subjects and the obects and fortifies inequality between people. Therefore, subject and object dichotomy-based schooling tend to reinforce and reproduce inequality rather than contributing to equalizing between the subject and the object or between people. Moreover, as this kind of schooling (Western educational system) has become dominant educational form in the world, it strengthens cultural imperialism and neo-colonialism by defining Western educational system as superior or appropriate form, while non-Western as inferior or inappropriate educational form. Often, non-Western educational activities and ideas have been excluded in the concept of education and have been considered to be reshaped and redirected by the help of Western educational system.

As mentioned before, the subject and the object dichotomy based schooling justifies teachers' dominance over the students. Teachers, furthermore, are try to perpetuate their dominance by making the students uncritically obey the given rules and accept standards or criteria, set out by the teachers or authorities. In oter words, domesticating the students can be one good way for maintaining teachers' control over the students. Moreover, domesticating function of education could intensify massification of students. If a person is accustomed to domesticating education and is massified, he or she would have hard time becoming a morally autonomous and independent person and making a free and responsible choice. This person could be easily massified, malleable to be directed and controlled by outer forces consciously or unconsciously. Massification, fortified by domesticating education, does not render positive impact for dmocratization which asks for "taking charge of attitude" --active participation for directing and creating one's own life and society.

In summary, these limits of subject and object dichotomy based, schooling-orientededucation breed the following issues. Firstly, schooling-oriented education tend to engender 'closed' education. Rather than promothing free and opened-choices of educational purposes, contents, forms, and methods, schooling-oriented-education is driven by controlled and closed educational manner. Secondly, by putting emphasis on the transmission of universal knowledge, schooling-oriented education contributes to maintaining and perpetuating hegemonical dominance in the name of transmission of universal knowledge. Even though they (the advocates of schooling-oriented education) always insist the priority of transmission of universal knowledge to students, they hardly put any attention to the gap between the universal knowledge and actual educational and social reality. Through neglecting the division between the two and the consequential problems, and through imposing that the current education is successful in transmitting the universal knowledge, it perpetuates the hegemonical dominance of the ruling groups.

Thirdly, since schooling-oriented education is teacher-centered or state and educational institution-directed, this knid of education, by disregarding learners' need and interest, inhibit learners' active and self-directed educational development but multiply production of passive learners. Finally, since the educational interest of this knid of education is concentrated on schooling or schooling kind of system. Therefore, prevailing educational studies have been focused on schooling kind, systematic educational activities and have not put any atteniton to those private educational activities and learners' own educational formulation. If we look into prevalent studies of educational history, this problem become much more manifest. A number of Western educational historians, in their third world educational studies, when they could not find any Western kind of schooling or schooling kind of activities, often have claimed that "there are no education in this country."

2. Toward an Alternative Concept of Education

Examining some limits and potentialities of "schooling perspective" and learning perspective" can expose some elemental aspects in considering an alternative concept of education. One way for reconceptualizing education can be attained through exploring ways for overcoming the limits of the two educational perspectives-"learning perspective" and "schooling perspective" As mentioned above, it is true that modern "schooling perspective" oriented-education, by offering more chances to get education, therefore to supply some opportunities for mobility in terms of social status, contributes to overcoming the limits of "learning perspective" oriented education. However, "schooling perspective" has become one sidely dominated educational concept and activities. Moreover, this exclusive definition of education by Western schooling system has restrained the full realization of educational potentiality.

It is argueed that "learning perspective"--representative Asian educational viewpoint-- has been neglected by "schooling perspective"-- Western educational viewpoints, especially by its colonialistic manner toward non-Western educational activities. Moreover, this neglect about Asian educational viewpoints has led to ignore some educational implications that "learning perspective"-oriented education can offer. I propose that "learning perspective" would be concidered an alternative framework in the attempt to reconceptualize education for the reason of following assumptions.

Firstly, "learning perspective" assumes that human beings are learning animals or homo studens: human beings have strong learning desire and disposition; they are equipped with learning capabilities; and human beings can initiate ones' own learning. Secondly, the purpose of learning is developed within the whole process of learners' lives. Thirdly, teaching activities, generallyy, assist leaning: teaching exists for the sake of learning. Fourthly, teacher and learner continually learn together, that is, they are colearner.

Fifthly, "learning perspective," rather than enforcing top down state's controlling direction in education, respect learners' rights and freedom, hence, encourage diverse and enriching learning activities. "Learning perspective" based education will not allow that no one should in the standpoint of learning and personal development, forcefully instruct someone else without his or her concession to learn and attempt to change one's behavior with no learners' consciousness. "Learning perspective" insists that the subjects of learning should be learners and cannot be replaced by outer forces such as the government or an institution.

Finally, since "learning perspective" promotes learners' initiative and diverse learning activities, that is, diversity based bottom up education, it is directed toward 'open society.'

When "learning perspective" included to "scholling perspective," therefore, contrbute to overcoming some limitations of "schooling perspective" oriented education, our understanding for educational concept and activities can be expanded concretely in the following ways. Firstly, seeing the phenomena of learning and teaching from the students' standpoint enlarge the prevailing teacher-oriented educational viewpoints. Secondly, since "learning perspective" admits the possible mistakes of teaching, this revitalizes critical reflection on educational activities and system. Thirdly "learning perspective" recognizes that with or without teaching, various kinds of learning activities continuously take place. This recognition increases interest to the learning activities happend out of schooling and educational systems, therefore, increase knowledge how to improve private or group learning activities and how to institutionalize those private learning activities which have been ignored in predominant educational research. This enhanceement of educational research attention to private or group learning activities will offer opsitive impact to traditional learning activities in the non-Western, third world countries which have been excluded due to their difference from the Western kind of educational system and activities. Fourthly, "learning perspective" can help overcome top-down, teacher-centered and -directed education and promote more democratic, bvottom-up, educational management.

No doubt, schooling perspective, the core of state-directed education has been dominant educational form in our modern world. This dominance of "schooling perspective'-oriented education has narrowed educational concept and activities by one-sidely determining what appropriate educational activities are, based on Western kind of educational system and activities. In order for education to become cruial bridge for the full development of persons and society for all people in the world, this narrowly determined concept of education must be transcended. We, therefore, need to search for alternative or new educational paradigm which projects better and expanded vision of education. For this search, "learning perspective" can contribute to offering some elemental aspects to be included and considered in education.

The attempt to reconceptualize education should be done with some clear understanding and analysis of the trends in our modern society in order to meet the challenges of our age. One of the major challenges of our age is how to dialectically synthesize social unity while preserving cultural diversity. Living in the modern society with other fellow human beings requires that we should not ignore either unity or diversity. This also means that one of the two should not dominate over or repress the other. The foundational conceptula framework of education should be reexamined and reconstructed with the consideration of those challenges of our age. "Learning perspective" revitalizes humanizing educational potentialities and opens diverse possibilities neglected by "schooling perspective" oriented education. That is why we need to give more attention and interest to "learning perspective."

Finally, 'self-directedness' in learning is a topic much discussed in adult education in last ten years or so. Literatures of self-directed learning have concerned more on psychological aspect than on social and philosophical aspect of self-directedness. Discussion in this paper on learning perspective against schooling perspective hopefully furnishes some implications for extension of academic discourse on self-directed learning.

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Learning to Learn: Western Perspectives[1]

Gene L. Roth

The late Robert M. Smith was a friend of mine who also happened to be an internationally acclaimed writer on the topic of learning to learn. Dr. Smith died slightly over a year ago, and his friends and colleagues in the field of adult education miss him dearly. Dr. Smith, more so than any other scholar, brought to our attention the notion that people are unfinished products as learners. From his vantage point, all learners have room for improvement. And most importantly, Dr. Smith explained how adult educators can help people enhance their knowledge and skills as learners.

Dr. Smith developed a framework for the learning to learn concept that allowed the rest of us understand its relationships with knowing and learning. He described learning to learn as an umbrella concept that can be construed as a goal, process, or area of inquiry (Smith, 1990). As a goal, he described it as a means to become more effective as a learner--regardless of the context that one encounters. As a process, he explained how learning to learn processes and activities can be adopted, practiced, and refined by one's self or through the facilitation of others. And as an area of inquiry, he acknowledged the expanding literature base related to learning to learn and the need to inform practitioners and policy makers of its significance.

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, the writer is honored to highlight the contributions of Robert M. Smith at this international conference. Second, the writer will focus on select components of learning to learn and note recent developments. Although it is beyond the purpose of this paper to provide an exhaustive analysis of the learning to learn concept, several components will be emphasized:

- Increasing the awareness of self-as-learner
- Becoming an active and assertive learner
- Expanding the learner's repertoire of learning strategies
- Compensating for personal learning deficiencies
- Building skills in self-monitoring and reflection
- Facilitating learning to learn

Increasing the awareness of self-as-learner

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[1] This paper is adapted from: Roth, G. I. (in press). Helping adults learn to learn. In S. Courtney & J. Dirkx (Eds.), Effective Strategies for Teaching Adults. Washington, D. C.: American Association for Adult and Continuing Education.

Regardless of the time and effort that people devote to formal education, few adults take the initiative to intensely focus on themselves as learners. For many adults, the outcomes of learning activities have been the foci of their attention. In most learning situations, the processes of learning are considered to be secondary to the results of the learning task. Conversely, learning to learn is a personal, deliberate, focused attention on the processes of learning. More than merely developing a set of isolated learning remedies, learning to learn represents a rich mixture of skills, knowledge and abilities that are embedded in learning precesses.

Learning to learn is an integrated, holistic, and systemic approach to enhancing one's efficiency and effectiveness as a learner. It moves people toward a critical consciousness of their learning processes. It encourages people to examine their judgements and actions that occur before, during and after learning experiences. This introspection and complementary action leads people to heightened insights concerning themselves as learners.

Building awareness of self as learner is central learning to learn. Self awareness requires people to step back from the learning processes and take stock of the situation. Self-questioning is a requisite skill for building awareness of self as learner. Learners need a critical eye to detect tacit attitudes, knowledge, and/or behaviors that impede their learning prowess. A helicopter view of the learning situation can be prompted by questions such as:

- How am I going about this?
- What seems to be working well?
- Which learning strategies seem to have little utility for me?
- Which alternative strategies might be most effective?
- Which strategies hold the greatest probability of success--given what I know about the easy or difficult nature of this task?
- What can I predict as an outcome of this?

Reflecting on past learning experiences helps individuals tease out undetected

characteristics of themselves as learners. Personal reflection can break down calcified learning habits and patterns. Writing a personal learning history is an example of a reflective activity that can help individuals critique their prior learning situations. A learning history can be a response to the following types of questions:

- Why am I this type of learner?
- Which past learning experiences were the most powerful?
- What were the characteristics of those experiences?
- Why were some learning experiences easy and effortless?
- Why have other learning situations been uncomfortable?
- What were the contexts for my successful and unsuccessful learning experiences?
- Why am I anxious about certain learning situations?
- Why am I confident about certain learning situations?
- What bothers me the most about my learning?

A personal learning history helps track the evolution of a learner. It documents the mile posts of one's personal learning journey.

Becoming an active and assertive learner

Active learners are the pioneers and discoverers in the vast territory of learning to learn. They doggedly seek to uncover the mysteries of their personal learning. Active learners creatively look at contexts and ask: What might work best here? How should I react to this milieu? How should I respond to new information? Active learners pay keen attention to the here and now and the sub-structures of context. They are aware of the tools that are at their disposal for specific learning tasks, and they are responsive to the changing nature of learning contexts. They seek out idiosyncracies of a learning situation as well as their reaction to them, and they store mental notes for the future. They are likely to ask: What inferences can I draw from this that will help me the next time I face a similar situation?

Whereas under-developed and immature learners are more likely to be passive and less efficient in learning situations (De Corte, 1990b), active learners tend to be fluent with several learning strategies and are versatile with their applications. Active learners are more likely to experiment with new learning strategies and take risks. Because of their inquiring dispositions, active learners self-monitor and self-evaluate their progress. For example, active learners assess ways to be taught and select those most conducive to their learning needs. Other strategies include critiquing the systemic processes of their self-directed learning, and seeking feedback from others regarding their effectiveness in collaborative learning. They seek ways to "lubricate learning." That is, they scrutinize learning situations for solutions that might decrease the friction of personal learning processes and overcome their inertia.

Expanding the learner's repertoire of learning strategies

People increase their efficiency and effectiveness as learners when they can apply a full array of learning skills, strategies, and tools. Learners need to be adaptive to diverse learning contexts. Strategic learners can recognize the demands of a learning situation and inventory probable remedies. They have identified and refined deliberate tactics that can be employed for effectiveness and efficiency (Reynolds and Wade, 1986).

On the other hand, some individuals are paralyzed in certain contexts because of their narrow band of learning strategies. There is an old expression, "When you only have a hammer, the whole world looks like a nail." The expression implies that one's world-view is delimited by personal resources. If you only have a hammer, then you will probably use it in every possible situation, regardless of the fit between the tool and the task.

In like fashion, if individuals rely on merely a few learning strategies, then they are likely to over-use them and apply them in inappropriate situations. Furthermore, certain learning contexts are likely to be avoided by ill-equipped learners. They may consider their existing learning strategies to be impotent against the risks and peculiar aspects of an ambiguous learning task.

Possessing a limited range of learning strategies can be intimidating for people who are confronted with unfamiliar situations. Joyce(1981) noted the repercussions for learners in formal learning situations when they have not developed an expansive repertoire of learning strategies:

> To the extent that we have not been taught the skills that enable us to adapt to a new approach we are deprived of learning in a serious way. People who have trouble relating to non-directive approaches are deprived of many of the benefits of counseling. People who cannot relate to models requiring social skills lose out in important areas of learning. Unless we have the skills of inductive thinking, Inquiry oriented models leave us behind. Without the ability to relinquish control we fail to profit from behavioral systems approaches. (26)

Learning strategies enable one to recognize personal learning blind spots, hindrances, and learning deficiencies. Learning strategies can be used as mental prostheses that can prop-up the learner against the demands of the learning task. They permit people to take stock of the actions that embellish their learning in a variety of contexts, whether or not the situation is tedious, risky, solitary, confrontational, mundane or collaborative.

Learners with a broad array of learning strategies use techniques such as rehearsing before a learning event, anticipating elements of the learning event based on prior experience and knowledge; and considering courses of action, potential outcomes, and respective implications. Learners with these skills have developed an advanced arsenal and a sophisticated system for deploying learning tools and strategies. Using metacognitive strategies as an example, Schmitt and Newby (1986) descrive this self-regulatory process as ". . . checking and evaluating to determine whether the task matches preconceived notions about it, whether selected strategies are working, whether task performance is adequate, or whether comprehension is proceeding as it should." (30)

Compensating for personal learning deficiencies

Sometimes learning flows naturally, and other times it flows like molasses in the dead of winter. Learning to learn entails recognizing the causes and effects of peak learning, as well as developing coping strategies for mental blocks, blind-spots, and other barriers. People learn how to learn as they gain understanding, exert control over their learning, and cultivate their learning competencies. However, learners can face numerous stumbling blocks. Collins (1994) outlined a variety of situations that can frustrate learners, and yet, these problematic encounters provide fertile ground for applying learning to learn:

- Learning in a particular context and having difficulties generalizing to other situations.
- Learning to do things one way and having trouble picking up other methods.
- Becoming accustomed to a specific situation and not knowing how to apply expertise to unfamiliar situations.
- Losing motivation because of ambiguity of potential applications in unfamiliar contexts.
- Overcoming inertness because the learning situation is so different from day-to-day experiences.
- Retaining information is difficult because it is rarely put to use.

The preceding learning dilemmas call for a self-monitoring process that allows people to make informed judgements about the best strategies for specific learning situation.

Self-monitoring should trigger a realization when learning is not particularly efficient or effective. Furthermore, learners should be able to recognize inefficient and unproductive learning and take corrective action with appropriate tools and processes.

Building Skills in Self-Monitoring and Reflection

Building competence as a learner requires alertness to the processes of learning. People can "keep tabs" of the processes by self-questioning, monitoring and regulating their learning. A system of executive thinking must emerge that questions the parameters of learning: What is working right now? What is the reason for this action? How does this compare to where I want to be as a learner? What inferences can I make about this success or failure? How can I justify my response to this encounter?

During the self-questioning process, learners articulate the learning processes as they occur and create a critical consciousness of the process: What are the underlying assumptions here? Why I am I not getting this? Why is this always difficult for me? How can I enhance this reflection experience?

Reflection and self-monitoring link together the senses of feeling and thinking. People face emotional issues as well as cognitive issues when they acquire new information (Shepard and Fasco, 1994) The assemblage of beliefs that helps learner navigate their environments has been put together from personal experience. This personal reality has shaped the uniqueness of the individual. Learning to learn includes taking stock of one's personal experience and monitoring the effects of emotions on learning processes.

Facilitating Learning to Learn

Facilitating learning to learn includes helping people become aware of their habits as learners. This includes examining the root causes of learning habits, critiquing their validity, and devising new strategies worthy of experimentation and testing. These functions are not automatically applied by most people in formal learning situations, although Armour-Thomas and Allen (1993) noted that competence can be gained in learning to learn if awareness and use of processes are explicitly encouraged and reinforced through facilitation. Practice benefits learning to learn.

Reflective writing can be used as a facilitation strategy for learners. Reflection-learning journals and autobiographies can help individuals critique and examine their learning processes. They are tools that can extend learning. Reflecting on one's experience as a learner helps one to recognize the genesis of idiosyncracies of learning (Shepard and Fasco, 1994). Surfacing these habits allows one to analyze and make adjustments as a learner. The journaling process can "prime the pump" and generate a flow of consciousness for people who are struggling to capture the essence of their learning. Facilitators can respond to reflective journals by providing alternative ideas, metaphors, suggestions for further reading, and other constructive recommendations.

> Not all adults will benefit from creating reflective journals, particularly those who struggle with the process of writing. However, the reflective process need not result in the written word. Harri-Augstein and Thomas (1983) endorsed the "learning conversation" as a reflective process for the learner--a technique of conversing with oneself about the processes of learning. They noted that learners can talk through their processes of attributing meaning to learning encounters: Most people are almost totally unaware of how they attribute personal meaning to the displays of public knowledge offered to them in lectures, laboratories, seminars, and work places. Reading, listening, talking, writing, thinking, feeling, judging, deciding, and doing are long established habits that have become so fixed and unavailable to conscious review that learners are almost entirely prisoners of their rigid competencies. (39)

For many adults, beliefs about themselves as learners rest in sub-conscious levels of the brain. Seeing one's reflective thoughts through the eyes's of another person can be a catalyst for learning to learn. Talking through their learning processes with another person can help learners uncover underlying beliefs and assumptions that they hold about themselves as learners (Shepard and Fasco, 1994).

In formal learning situations, reciprocal teaching strategies such as summarizing, questioning, clarifying, paraphrasing, and predicting allow learners to view the processes of learning from different angles. These tactics help learners gather information before, during, and after the learning task. This includes information that can help them choose learning strategies, allocate time and/or energy, or alter their course of action in mid-stream. An important role for adult educators in formal learning situations is to help people relate to a broader spectrum of learning environments and expand their repertoire of learning strategies (Joyce, 1981). An example that can be cited here is helping students learn from text. Brown, Campione and Day (1981) devised a four point model for helping students learn from text by considering the following components:

- The learning activities: Monitoring the strategies, rules, procedures, and comprehension.
- Characteristics of the learner: Overcoming capacity limitations, activating one's prior knowledge, and reasoning by analogy.
- Nature of the materials: Examining the text for the logical structure of the material. How are headings, lead sentences, summaries and other cues used to give the reader guide-posts for understanding?
- Criterial tasks: Gaining an understanding of purpose of the learning activity. Understanding that expected outcomes will require different learning approaches and activities.

Learners respond to elements of a learning situation according to their field dependency of field independency. Adult educators who structure learning climates for students need to consider the skills and abilities of learners in various contexts. For example, some learners will be receptive to guidance and direction. In contrast, other learners will cherish their independence as learners. Joughin (1992) suggested that adult educators should consider the following learner characteristics:

- Structure: Learners can be expected to vary according their need for external structure, their response to provided structure, and their ability to create structure where none is provided.
- Analytical ability: Learners should be expected to show marked differences in their ability to master situations in which either the content of learning or the structure/process of the learning situation calls for a high level of analytical ability.
- Responsiveness to affective considerations: Learners will vary in their need for supportive environments, in their capacity to use relationships with fellow learners and educators, and in their ability to learn from social or interpersonal situations.
- Authority/responsibility: Learners should be expected to show varying responses to authority in terms of their readiness to attribute authority to others, their comfort or discomfort in the face of authority, and their willingness and ability to accept personal responsibility for their learning. (13)

Creating Supporting Learning Environments

De Corte (1990a) maintained that powerful learning environments typically combine a balance of discovery learning and personal exploration on the one hand, and systematic instruction and guidance on the other. Individual differences in abilities, needs and motivation of learners must be considered in the balance. Supportive learning environments should contain structured activities that provide insight about the processes of learning to both the learner and the facilitator.

The feasibility of creating supportive learning environments is enhanced when key stakeholders acknowledge the centrality of learning to the mission of the institution. O'Banion (1995-6) used the term "learning college" to describe radical changes he sought in community colleges. He asserted that formal learning experiences should be planned and implemented to benefit learners rather than institutions and staffs. He noted that policies and standard operating procedures must be critically examined and judged for their peripheral relationship to learning. An example of such an assessment evolved from round-table discussions at Maricopa Community College, Phoenix, Arizona. This restructuring process resulted in a set of four concepts devoted to building a learning-centered system (O'Banion, 1995-6):

- Learning is a process that lifelong for everyone and should be measured in a consistent, ongoing manner focused on improvement.
- Everyone is an active learner and teacher through collaboration, shared responsibility, and mutual respect.
- The learning process includes the larger community through the development of alliances, relationships, and opportunities for mutual benefit.
- Learning occurs in a flexible and appropriate environment. (21)

Haverkamp (1983) summarized that for adults to succeed in institutional learning settings they should: (1) know about the services and programs of the learning environment, (2) know how to assess, understand and improve themselves as learners, and (3) know how to learn in a variety of situations-formal class, small group or alone.

Concluding thoughts

Learning to learn is an umbrella concept that subsumes topics such as metacognition and metacognitive strategies, learning styles, awareness of self as learner, learning contexts and a host of other issues related to improving the effectiveness and efficiency of learning. Learning to learn can be viewed as a goal, process, and area of inquiry (Smith, 1982). It is a vitally important skill for growing and developing as a lifelong learner.

How does one become proficient in learning to learn? How does one gain competence as a learner regardless of the context? This paper stressed the importance of skill building by the learner and facilitation by the adult educator. For the individual learner, skills and processes such as self-awareness, self-monitoring, reflection, and active learning were highlighted. For the facilitator, building supportive learning environments and providing ample practice opportunities for learners were recommended.

This writer believes there is something bigger than the previously mentioned processes and skills that engender learning to learn. It is something holistic and it encompasses the ways that learners approach learning situations with people, things and ideas in their environment. The more one examines the theory and practice of learning to learn, the more one senses that it exalts a unique worldview that is premised on the power of learning.

When people embrace the concept of learning to learn, they observe and interpret phenomena with a heightened consciousness. Their learning processes are the target of personal critique and continuous improvement. For these learners, merely seeking expected outcomes from learning is not good enough. The processes of learning are scrutinized: Can I be better at this? Why is this a struggle? what might work here? Although perfection as a learner is never achieved, when one becomes accomplished in learning to learn, the world never appears the same

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TRADITIONAL MODERNITY, POSTMODERNITY AND COMMUNICATIVE MODERNITY

Related issues in constructing roles and learning tasks of adult education

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INTRODUCTION

In the 21st century, Adult Education will have an important explosion of participation (Unesco 1996). Its new dimensions and its key influence in the information society (Castells 1993) is demanding much more substantial foundations. The study of Adult Education (AE) cannot continue in its ghetto, isolated from both the educational and the social science communities. In some countries, the study of AE is being taken seriously by those science communities and such processes make the field of AE to be also taken seriously by the wide society. This paper tries to make a contribution founding the study of issues, roles and learning tasks of AE on the present developments of social sciences and on the practices of popular adult education promoted by Center of Research for Education of Adults (CREA).

TRADITIONAL MODERNITY IN THE FIELD OF ADULT EDUCATION

Modernity is the process of rationalization which allows humanity to transform itself following universal principles rooted in human constructions like progress, freedom, equality or justice.

As traditionally understood, modernity was based on the division and relation between the subject--one who transforms--and the object--one who is transformed. In the field of education, the subject can be the teacher and the object the student. In the field of politics, the leader or the party can be the subject and the citizens or workers the object.

We have two different concepts in this understanding, which prevailed until the late 70s: indoctrination and conscientization. In the conservative concept of education as indoctrination, the subject-teacher transforms the object-student. In the revolutionary concept of education as conscientization, the subject-educator transforms the learner-object into learner-subject.

It has been nearly twenty years since Freire abandoned using his concept of conscientization. Nevertheless, many followers have been abusing this concept in relation to the three levels of consciousness: magic, naive and critical. Being at the magic or naive levels meant being an object. Being at the critical level meant being a subject. Learners were usually considered as situated at the magic or naive levels, the liberating educator at the critical level of consciousness.

In the traditional modernist perspective, adult educators used to think that they knew what was right and good. To make this clear, I will introduce three examples. These were common issues in European adult education practice during the seventies.

a) Participants in AE used to have debates on personal and collective issues in such fields as sexuality or politics. For instance, options like "virginity-fidelity" or "sexual liberation" were widely discussed.

b) There was a strong debate on curriculum, on such topics as "more teaching" or "more dialogue."

c) There was a reproductionist reading of the text. This reading assumes that the teacher had the right interpretation.

Adult educators used to think that we knew the best options. In some cases, we tried to teach the best options to our students. Alternatively, we tried to promote a dialogue in order that the students could arrive at the best solutions. Either way, the adult educator made the decision of which was the current option.

In the last two decades, society has changed. In the new historical and socio-cultural context, one of the most outdated foundations of education and social movements is precisely this traditional subject-object concept of transformative leadership.

Actually, no one social theory maintains the idea of the subject transforming the object, but most social theories participate in "decentering" the subject. We have (at least) three ways to deal with this dilemma:

- To dogmatically maintain traditional convictions and assumptions. In this case, there will be two major problems: a distancing of educators from participants in adult education and a distortion of original emancipatory intentions of adult education. In the late seventies, many adult educators and agencies, misunderstanding the spirit of Freire's ideas, were, in fact, indoctrinating their students.

- To deny the possibility of any transformative utopia. In the eighties in Southern Europe, we had experienced an intense undermining of critical thought, including its implications for adult education. The new Nietzscheanism, principally in the genealogical (Foucault 1969/1976), deconstructionist (Derrida 1967/1976) and postmodernist (Lyotard 1979/1984) approaches[1] has been the most effective means of this type of questioning.

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[1] Postmodernism was developed in Europe (This conception is not less European, white and male than modernism). Postmodernism was grounded in the works of Nietzsche. Later, a diverse set of developments were developed with the same label of postmodernism in North America. In this paper, I am referring to European works.

- To elaborate transformation perspectives adequate for present societal needs. Works like Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action (TCA) overcome Nietzscheanism and are a fruitful source of new social action theories and Giddens' radicalization of modernity (Giddens 1991, 1992, 1994, Beck 1995).

POSTMODERNITY: ONE MORE REBELLION AGAINST MODERNITY

When modernist foundation of the transformation of the object by the subject was in definitive crisis, poststructuralists proposed the dissolution of the subject. In other words, they stated that any orientation to transformation is a wrong perspective because no one knows what is good or bad, right or wrong. In poststructuralist view, there are no values superior to other values, there are no universal values.

AE has transformation as an essential aim. AE is a pendent task of the project of Enlightenment to spread cultural literacy over the whole humanity. This objective needs to take sides for some values and to aspire to a better life. It also supposes the trust in the possibility of the human being to transform themselves. The dissolution of the subject means whether the disappearance of AE or its reduction to ordinary training in technical skills. This is what structuralists and poststructuralists propose.

Foucault and Derrida were in the structuralist atmosphere of the Ecole Normale de Paris, where Althusser has a strong influence and there were other present authors like Bourdieu. In the words of Lévi-Strauss (the creator of structuralist stream of social sciences), the aim of structuralism is not to constitute human being, but to dissolve it. Structuralism was a strong stream of thought proposing the dissolution of the subject. Besides its claims, structuralism was an inheritor of Parsons' systemic functionalism; in 1949, Levi-Strauss called primitive structuralism to functionalism.

In any case, structuralism and systemic functionalism share their reductionism to one of the two parts of reality. They take into account the structure and the system but they deny agency and lifeworld. They deny the subject. Within structuralism, there have been strong criticism against the school system. For instance, the reproduction model of analysis of education, developed by Althusser[2] and attributed to Bourdieu, tried to demonstrate how schools always

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My criticism must not be extended to North American thought related to postmodernism. I appreciate very much such emancipatory and critical perspectives as that of Henry Giroux.

[2] Althusser created the Marxist structuralism on what reproduction model was grounded. He wrote the book, "To read the Capital" and many authors substituted the reading of Marx, "The Capital" by the Althusser's book. Some years ago, Althusseur recognized (1992: 196-197) he had not read The Capital, when he wrote "To read the Capital." These dynamics have been very common. Some of the

serve capitalism. Many radical educational stream have used structuralist analysis in order to attack the school system and to propose to overcome it. But, in fact, structuralism denies the possibility for any transformation perspective. In a long term reproduction model, it has created passive acceptance of status quo, not because it is considered good, but because it is considered not transformable. It has even created a sort of cynicism; it has been frequently used in order to dismiss, as innocent or not, scientific positions trying to collaborate with social change from the educational field.

For a transformation perspective, what we should take from systemic functionalism and structuralism is some parts of their analysis on structures and systems, but only in order to include them in a very different theoretical framework. On the one hand, these systems and structures should not be considered as the reality, but only as one part of the dual reality. On the other hand, it should be jointly complemented for the analysis of the possibilities of transforming these systems.

Poststructuralism could be considered as one more step in the orientation of structuralism. Structuralism still believes in the possibility of science, of human objective knowledge. Poststructuralism denies even science. Two key authors of this stream, Foucault (1968) and Derrida (1967/1976) took from Nietzsche the concept of genealogy. Genealogy denies the validity of science.

In Foucault's approach, all alternative forces have the same horizon of power as their opponent[3] He criticizes that all descriptions of power are focused on its negative effects: power oppresses and limits. He proposes to describe positive effects of power: it creates reality. Modernism has humanized power, has created institutions that claim to be rooted in justice, reason and freedom. Foucault thinks there is nothing within such institutions or anywhere else that is rooted in these principles. What is right and just for one, would be wrong and unjust for another.

This genealogical approach seems to be a critique of all kinds of power, generating a sort

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results are a generalized misunderstanding of structuralism and a tremendous weakness of the foundations of adult education.

[3] One of the most extended errors about Foucault is that he wanted to undermine power, that he was against it. The reality is just the opposite, all Nietzscheanists consider anything is generated by power; so, they do not consider power is negative, but positive. All the Foucaulian works disallow any intent to put him on the side of those who are looking for cultural equality, emancipatory education or any other critical perspective: We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it "excludes", it "represses", it "censors", it "abstracts", it "masks", it "conceals". In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production (Foucault 1975:196/1977:194).

of neutrality. But, in fact, there is no neutral thought stream. The position of genealogy opposes modernity. Nietzsche outlines this position in his book on the Genealogy of Morals defining "the advent of democracy of arbitration courts in place of wars, of equal rights for women" (Nietzsche 1887/1956:290-291), as symptoms of declining vitality.

From a transformation perspective, what we should take from the works by Foucault is their productive analysis of power, but in a different theoretical framework. On the one hand we should use a sociological concept of power and society. On the other hand we should differentiate between diverse sorts of power, for instance, democracy and dictatorships.

Derrida focused his work on the concept of différance (1967/ 1976), his own word different from french word (différence). The change of the letter e for the letter a is only perceptible graphically, but not orally; so, there is the Derridean preference of writing against fonocentrism which in Derrida is linked to logocentrism. Différance has a double meaning: 1) to differ (space); 2) to defer (time). Any sense is generated by spacing and timing of this différance. Derrida proposes deconstruction of this sense.

The parallel concept of deconstruction supposes to deconstruct not only the line of progress, but even any intent to compare two different situations. The concept of difference opens room for any relativism. Because his Nietzscheanist orientation, he places his concept of differance outside and against discourse of democracy and social justice. He even maintains these principles should be deconstructed and destroyed.From his work of deconstruction we should take his critical analysis of any culture which tries to present itself as universally and objectively superior to other cultures. But we should reject the idea that it is not possible to aspire to improve our cultures even taking superior elements from other cultures.

In the late seventies and early eighties, this approach had extraordinary popularity in southern Europe. It was paralleled by the fall of the critical perspectives in social movements. Curiously, this thought, hypothetical contrariety to all kinds of power became popular in the centers of power. Wherever there was a critical cultural movement, a critique of this critique grew up near or inside the political administration. This is one of the most important keys in understanding this apparent triumph of the new Nietzscheanism.

Genealogy and postmodernism were involved in the critique of all critical movement, welfare politics, etc. Adult educators were criticized, not only for indoctrination, but also for having in mind any humanistic utopian perspective or, in Lyotard's words, any "narrative of emancipation" (1979/1984:60).

Therefore, genealogy and postmodernism are in fact an attack against modernity, and principally, against the most advanced consequences of modernity such as rationality or solidarity. In the field of AE, it is principally an attack on transformational perspectives. Any adult educator proposing any emancipatory idea was denounced as having a narrow horizon of power. In order to illustrate this, let us re-examine our former examples:

a) In terms of sexuality, for example, the new Nietzscheanism would assert that no one can say one option is better than another. No one can know whether "virginity-fidelity" or "sexual liberation" is the best model.

b) The new Nietzscheanism would assert that no one can say one option for curriculum is better than another. For instance, no one can know whether "more teaching" or "more dialogue" is the best option.

c) The new Nietzscheanism would assert what we should do is to deconstruct the diverse interpretations rather than to build an intersubjective interpretation of the text.

Within the new Nietzschean orientation, any educator with a transformative perspective thinks s/he knows the right option. So, s/he is trying to impose it on participants. If s/he is doing so from the indoctrination approach, at least the imposition is clear. But if s/he is doing so from a democratic approach, the imposition is not so evident. In the early eighties, many radical educators used to sympathize with this kind of criticism which was apparently against any efforts to influence, even against the fostering critical reflection and transformative perspectives. But the new Nietzscheanism, in fact, supports traditional and conservative forces by criticizing the very process of rationalization which allows humanity to transform itself.

There continues to be much social pressure and violence in contemporary sexual conduct. We need transformation perspectives in order to overcome these behaviors. We must be able to reject certain sexual conduct such as rape. We believe in a humane, rational society in which each person may have an equal opportunity to participate freely and fully in discourses to make the decisions which affect them and to validate the meaning in their collective experiences.

We also need transformational perspectives in order to overcome many present educational situations. We still have authoritarian curriculums. We must be able to reject certain curriculum options such as those imposed by the dictatorship-oriented governmental agencies, especially when they limit our efforts to achieve full and free participation and to foster rational reflection.

Attitudes toward transformative perspective are not neutral, but require taking sides depending on present situations. Transformational perspectives hold that, in modern societies, rationality is itself an universal which has implicit ideal conditions for adult learning which may be used as criteria for educational value judgements.

COMMUNICATIVE MODERNITY AND THE ADULT EDUCATION FOR THE 21st CENTURY

Like poststructuralism and postmodernism, the Theory of Communicative Action (TCA) is a reaction to crisis of traditional modernity (Habermas 1981/1984, 1981/1987, 1982/198b). All of these theories reject the modernist foundation of the transformation of the object by the subject. Instead of the postmodernist proposal of the dissolution of the subject,[4] TCA makes the resourceful contribution of communicative rationality grounded in intersubjectivity.

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[4] Habermas (1985/1987) has written a whole critique of postmodernism. He maintains that, behind its postEnlightenment appearance, there lies an old tradition of counterEnlightenment.

Therefore, TCA reinterprets modernity from the philosophy of subject toward the communicative rationality. In doing so, this theory has overcome both the crises of modernity and postmodernism. The crisis of modernity was about its grounding in the philosophy of the subject. Postmodernist and genealogist critiques of modernity are focused on this grounding. Both are overcome in TCA, in favor of a new understanding of modernity grounded on communicative rationality and the justification of belief through consensual validity.

Within the communicative approach, we can now look at the former three examples from different point of view: a) Within the communicative approach, unlike within the traditional modernist viewpoint, there is no subject knowing the best sexual option for other people: "virginity-fidelity" / "sexual liberation", "homosexuality" / "heterosexuality". Within the communicative approach, unlike within the new Nietzscheanist viewpoint, we can state that some sexual conducts are right and some are wrong. For instance, we can reject rape. That is not possible within new Nietzschianist approach. For instance, Foucault used to propose, as a consequence of his asocial conception of sexuality, the depenalization of rape (Cooper 1977).

It is the notion of consensus that makes the difference. We can not say which sexual option is the best (for instance, "homosexuality" / "heterosexuality"). That depends on people and context. But we can and must claim that one indispensable condition is free consensus among participants. In order to be right, any sexual conduct must be the result of the free agreement of participants.. One sexual conduct is absolutely wrong if it is the result of imposition and violence to any of the participants (such as rape).

b) Within the communicative approach, unlike the traditional modernist viewpoint, there is no subject knowing the best curriculum for every context and situation. We can not make the claim for more emphasis on teaching or on dialogue every time and everywhere. No one knows the best solution for any particular educational situation.

Within communicative approach, unlike the new Nietzscheanist viewpoint, we can state that some curricular options are right and some are wrong. For instance, we can reject dictatorships-oriented indoctrination and we can favor rational discourse.The notion of consensus makes again the difference. We can not say if we must increase teaching or dialogue. That depends on people and context. But we can and must claim that one indispensable condition is free consensus among participants. In order to be right, any curricular option must have the free agreement of participants. One curricular option (like indoctrination in dictatorships) is wrong if it is the result of the imposition and violence to any of the participants.

c) Within the communicative approach, unlike the traditional modernist viewpoint, there is no subject knowing the right interpretation of the text. We can not say that the interpretation of the text by the teacher is superior to the interpretation of the text by a student. We must remember the people referred as illiterates were the creators of the literature. If we take some of these creators of oral literature in the Middle Age and give them one of our school exams or tests about the literature they created, they probably would fail to pass the tests.

Within the communicative approach, unlike the new Nietzscheanist viewpoint, we can state that we can improve our interpretation of the text intersubjectively. The notion of dialogue makes again the difference. Freely talking with others, we can discover new issues in the text. We can also develop collective interpretations of the text without eliminating our differences. Summarizing the principles involved in this argumentation, we have the following five characteristics of the communicative approach[5]:

- It supports the transformative perspective implicit in every understanding of modernity.
- Transformation is carried out by those who are participants in the action.
- All of us are subjects in the communicative process.
- We don't know what is true or false, good or bad. But the communicative approach states that the process to establish these criteria must involve a best judgement, a consensus continuously being revised by new knowledge and points of view.
- So, it is possible to arrive at a statement of universal principles about what is true or false, good or bad.

Within TCA, rationality is communicative and grounded in intersubjective dialogue. Different contexts don't impede dialogue. It is possible to arrive at a consensus among a plurality of voices. Only if we don't have this concept of a communicative rationality must we choose primacy of unity above plurality (as in logocentrism) or primacy of plurality above unity (as in contextualism). As Habermas says, "The metaphysical primacy of unity above plurality and the contextual primacy of plurality above unity seem to me secret accomplices. I state that the unity of reason only remains perceptible in the plurality of the voices" (1988/1990b:157).

Of course, this consensus is always limited by constraints. Within the communicative rationality approach Habermas proposes working to overcome these constraints. This is the task of modernity, the process of rationalization which allows humanity to transform itself following universal principles rooted in human constructions like progress, freedom, equality and justice.

All critical or radical perspectives know that no democracy is free of cultural arbitrariness, but I still support it. The limitations of democracy cannot be a a reason to turn against it (as a former member of the clandestine fight against the Franco's dictatorship, I know the other option all too well), but are rather all the more reasons to work and fight within it to overcome its constraints and inequalities. That is the main task of the communicative approach.

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[5] Problems of evolutionism within Habermas's concepts of learning (Habermas, 1981/1989a) and moral evolution (Habermas, 1983/1990a) are a consequence of his overemphasis on Piaget. There has been a progressive improvement in his later works. (Habermas 1985: 89-90). Then, he has introduced Vygotski in order to link cognitive operations with everyday life (Habermas, 1988/1990b: 17). I will deal with this important question in a later paper.

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Conceptualizing our work as Adult Educators In a Socially Responsible Way

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Eight years ago (Cunningham 1988), I made the case that adult education had as its major responsibility to actively promote continuous societal change by promoting the ideals of participatory democracy defined as full citizen participation, freedom, equality and social justice. It seemed quite a straightforward task at the time and I stood on the logic of rationality. The main outline of the argument was: 1. Society is socially constructed. 2. It is logical to assume this construction served certain functions including social control. 3. Many of these social constructions fostered systematic oppression . 4. What is socially constructed can be reconstructed and 5. Education could serve to either promote the status quo and maintain these inequalities or it could be a means to promote changes to more equitable arrangements. Accordingly, the adult educator should eschew professionalism as it delimits citizen participation and the voluntariness necessary for participatory democracy. Nothing that adult educators must make ethical decisions not in some rarified world of abstractions but in the concrete reality of our practice, two questions framed the discourse: 1. Who has the power to make decisions on he nature of adult education programs? and 2. Who do these programs benefit? This was seen as practicing adult education as vocation (Collins).

One year later (Cunningham, 1989), I extended this argument by contrasting the limitations of institutionalized adult education, our present concern in adult education as contrasted against our history where we utilized non-formal education to struggle for a better society. These adult educational programs grew out of popular, socialist and African American social movements as well as workers education, emerging from its own social formations. As Davenport has noted:

> Out of the major historical movements for a more democratic and egalitarian society -- like those of the abolitionists, suffragettes, populists, socialists, race minorities, anarchists and labor organizers grew personal and social transformation.
> A social movement is characterized by a mass effort to reach the minds and hearts of people, to win them over to a new world view, new beliefs that will galvanize them into action and to join in demonstrations against adult education movement is revealed by how formal or informal or unconscious the educational process is (p. 26).

Increasingly, the concern for working in a socially responsible way has become an issue not only in the United States but internationally as well. The International Council for Adult Education in 1992 for the first time laid out four priorities for their organization: 1. Literacy 2. Peace and Human Rights 3. Women's Issues and 4. Environmental education. These priorities promoting social concerns about inequality were more easily established in the South than in the North and substantial resistance for this vision was articulated by members from the North. And even when there is more discussion, more debate around the goals of Adult Education in the Unite States, the dominant discourse in professionalized adult education which privileges the education of adult in institutions and in the workplace has abandoned the ideals of democratic social action.

There is one reoccurring theme in professionalized adult education today in the United States and that is learning for earning. Education of adults has been increasingly reduced to preparation for work. The preoccupation of the professional field of adult education is human resource development. Universities, community colleges, vocational and technical schools "partner" with business and industry for the purpose of developing a workforce capable of insuring productivity in order that United States industry can be competitive in a global market. This obsession with a competitive work force by adult educators has reduced the field to a concern with productivity for profitability and the advancement of world capitalism masquerading as the free market. Workers have become objectified as human resources; human capital formation which reduces human capacity to its economic value and is highly individualistic in its analysis is accepted uncritically (Baptiste). Workers are isolates who must prepare for multiple changes in their work assignment and an assessment industry of adult counseling has grown up to help workers keep themselves at the ready, rehoning skills in order to stay employed. The Fortune 500 firms shed 4.4 million jobs between 1980 and 1993: however, their sales increased by 1.4 times, assets by 2.3 times, and CEO compensation by 6.1 times (Korten, p. 108). Adult educators now work to assist industry in raising productivity and I would add at any cost to the worker.

UNESCO Institute for Education mounted a two year policy study in 1993 on the relationship between the market, the state, and civil society. The study asked two questions: 1. What was the social demand for adult education? and 2. To what degree could one document the broadening of national adult education policy to encompass civil society? Here we see the concern of where adult education is being utilized--to raise the GNP or to encourage citizen participation.

A major concern emerges in this post modern world. Is the global economy in which multinationals (industries based in several countries) are replaced by rootless transnational companies and in which global capital moves across all national boundaries now in charge. There are arguments on both sides of the question regarding the demise of the state (Murphy), however, there is much interest and agreement on the need to strengthen civil society which brings us back to the social responsibility of adult educators. For whether there is a condition of destatism or simply weakened states, it is not clear that the state can control the market. Thus there remains only one way to rein in the powerful trans nationals, and that is through civil society. Do we work to strengthen the market or do we work to strengthen civil society in order to tame the market. Do we reexamine our definition of work at the same time we critically assess the definition of adult education which has taken us from the promotion of civic participation to a complicitous role of raising profits at any social cost. Domestically this means uncritical acceptance of technological innovations; it means we do not question down sizing, home officing, out-sourcing, "just in time" strategies, the "temping" of the work force (hiring persons part time to avoid benefit packages), and continued pressure to increase productivity at all costs.

Is there a relationship between what we do and the fact that "between 1982 and 1993 the four hundred richest Americans (sic.) increased their combined net worth from $92 billion to $328 billion more than the combined 1991 GNP's shared by a billion people living in India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal." At the same time, 25% of Americans with full time jobs did not earn enough to provide for the basic needs of a family of four (Korsten, p. 109).

This domestic travesty is reproduced internationally by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which have as their policies, structural adjustment programs (SAPS) which force poor countries to, among other things, trim their social sector (education, health) to pay rich countries interest on the debts often incurred and controlled by their own economic elites. This means that instead of the flow of money going from the North to the South, the greater flow is from poor countries in the South to rich countries of the North. All of this is done in the name of advanced world capitalism with the market in charge.

The options for being socially relevant in 1996 seems to me to be in stark relief. Learning for earning is putting the entire institutional educational system to work for the market to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. If this philosophy dominates adult education then the market is in charge and we participate in the development of oppressive structures.

In the United States, adult education which was, at one time, as much about non-formal and voluntary work in civil society, has through professinoalization, become a force for institutionalizing the education of adults. We have become "schoolers" and our education has become a force for social control. We prepare docile workers; we celebrate technical rationality; our expertise is technique (Collins).

Adult education is no longer a vocation whereby the process of education has an emancipatory goal of participatory democracy. We are instead professional experts and in truth it is a disabling profession, one which forces learners into lifelong dependency on us (Mcknight). This brings us to the issues of post modernism as they have challenged our activities based on rationality.

Post modernism and post structuralism have attacked "rationality", its meta-narratives, its construction of the subject, its lack of micro analysis of power, its inattention to difference, and its Eurocentrism. It is difficult to fault the "logic" of postmodernism but its critique seems to me to exceed its application.

Some modernists try to incorporate postmodernism into their critique. Burbules and Rice distinguishes between post and anti-modernism. Post modernism analysis is compatible with rationality while anti-modernism rejects rationality. These authors suggest dialogue across difference.

> Modernism tends to emphasize universality over particularity and concreteness, and to overlook the ways in which power operates in dialogic relations; it has therefore been overly secure in assuming that fair and equitable concerns can be reached. By taking seriously precisely these matters glossed over in much of modernism, postmodernism makes us more sensitive to the possibility of incommensurability and radical misunderstanding. Public forums are not as open as they may appear from the modern perspective, and it would be naive to think that everyone feels (or is) free to speak in such contexts. Nevertheless, there must be some forums in which individuals from each group who are prepared to take on the burden (and risk) of attempting some degree of communication and transmission across the gulf that divides them (p. 404).

Bromley (1989) suggests that post structuralists critique could be used to make the Marxist analysis more inclusive. This he feels can be done through identity politics which uses post structural insights on the nature of subjectivity without losing the political commitment of Marxism. He defines identity politics as "an attempt to find for collective action a basis which does not marginalize lived experience, especially that of oppressed peoples, a basis which doesn't abstract away the complexity and contradictions embedded in human subjectivity" (p.208)

Identity politics invites individual experience into the analysis, even centering it. But it is not apolitical because it goes beyond experience; experience is contextualized by relating it to structures. An individual's identity is seen as fluid; the Homo (identity) one chooses can contribute to the constitution of the individual as subject. Consciousness, therefore, is a combined product of personal history and the modes of discourse selected to interpret that material history. Through this reasoning Bromley escapes the rejection of rationality.

This view of post-modernism is acceptable to me but post-modernism which negates rationally also negates my straight forward (1988) analysis which I alluded to previously. Post-modernism critique is appropriate and useful but it also presents a problem. Its usefulness is based on its challenge of the over dependence on rationality be it technical, communicative or emancipatory. As Hart notes, "we all need to be emancipated because we all, including critical educators, depend on advanced world capitalism where nobody can make a living if someone doesn't profit from it." (1996, p. 1) She concludes that each of us must locate ourselves in the topography of power and how we participate in its mechanisms.

This is helpful because it forces each of us to examine our own multiple subjectivities; for me it means critically examining the privilege I enjoy and take for granted because I am white or the privilege that obtains because of my social positioning. There is a special meaning in being white in U.S. culture. As African American popular culture notes about life in the states: "If you're white, you're right; if you're black, step back; if you're brown, hang around." Not only is race an issue in and by itself but at it's intersection with class and gender, race again divides. Ham-Garth (1996) has demonstrated how the feminist movement in the U.S. has in truth been two parallel movements with white feminists severing themselves from black feminists on two historical occasions on the basis of race. Accordingly, white feminists have to recognize that black feminists because of the primacy of the oppressive structures of race must stand first of all with black men (prior to their examination of male-female relationships) and that white feminists must critically examine how their whiteness constructs their social reality, their identity and their view of others. Schick (1994) takes it farther as she notes that the construction of whiteness cannot be examined by a white only approach except as an anthropologist would do so. For those of us who are interested in the political nature of whiteness we have to recognize that whiteness does not exist by itself but that there is a mutual coconstruction of whiteness and non-whiteness. Thus our political analysis must include non-whites; any antiracist discourse starts with this mutuality. Post-modernism is useful when its insights into difference and multiple subjectivities unmasks assumptions of privilege.

Hart (1995) warns us that as popular, critical, radical educators we take up an inherently paternalistic project of education by still ascribing to the model of western rationality underlying the concept of the emancipatory self. Our assumptions about the unemancipated may be as problematic as the stereotypes that were created by Europes enlightened self, a position we must critique as problematic.

Post-modernity has its problems as well as its usefulness. Ellsworth, in her discussion of post modernity notes the danger of multiple subjectivities which leads to inaction because of becoming so enthralled with moving about one's different selves, supporting a kind of contextually, politically, and historically situated politics which may lead to a refusal to know and resist oppression form any a priori line of attacks such as race, class or gender solidarity (113). Hart, building on Ellsworth's concern, notes that mobile subjectivites should not become a new dogma which simply replaces the former unitary self with the same resulting refication and objectification leading to inaction (p. 13).

Breton and Plumb (1992) studying the East European experience take their post-modernism cue from Vaclov Havel who points out that the power of the powerless lies not in directly confronting the system but by denying it in principle by choosing to live in the truth and refusing to live in the lie.

> The point where living with the truth ceases to be a mere negation of living with the lie, and becomes articulate in a particular way is the point at which something is born that might be called the independent, spiritual, social and political life of society. This independent life is not separated from the rest of life...by some sharply defined line. Both types frequently coexist in the same people. Nevertheless, its most important focus is made by a high degree of inner emancipation. It sails upon the vast ocean of the manipulated life, like little boats, tossed by the waves but always bobbing back as viable messengers of living within the truth, articulating the suppressed aims of life (Havel quoted by Breton and Plumb, p. 23).

By rejecting the universalizing structure of the system and creating small face to face parallel structures, Breton and Plumb believe we can escape the despair of the postmodernist condition. "Living within the truth" contributes to movements whose primary purpose is always to have an impact on society, not to affect the power structure. This living with the truth unmasks the real nature of power. This emphasis on the internal processes as a substitute or far better way then confronting oppression directly appears problematic to me. Consciousness is formed through action and though there are historical times where direct action may not be inappropriate, I do not want to sacrifice the standpoint of direct action against oppressive structures provided by the meta-narrative whereby conflict brings about social change.

So I return to praxis as the means to inform what I do though I concur that our guides to action can be informed by post-modernity and its critique. There are ways of directly confronting our tasks in a socially responsible way. The building of civil society and the voluntary sector requires participation. Dominant knowledges need to be confronted by knowledges created by marginalized persons. This is not through some fractionated work performed by individuals with no clear indicators of rightness and wrongness. Socially responsible adult educators still have a clear task before us. Capitalism, competition, myths of free markets can be challenged; at this historical moment the importance of civil society seems to be abundantly clear. It is also abundantly clear that the market has overstepped its usefulness in contributing to the greater good of a healthy environment and a quality of life that embraces all citizens.

To build civil society through providing ideological space for ordinary people to become knowledge producers, to develop their own systems of knowledge and the dissemination of that knowledge and to critically and in a communitarian way forge a more participatory democratic society are guiding principles for social responsibility.

If in fact we are between paradigms of modernity and post modernity the shift is not clear, until that time when there is more evidence for a far better way, social responsibility calls us to use post-modern thought to sharpen our critique but to promote education and action for democratic social change within a rational discourse.

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MODERNITY AND POSTMODERNITY RELATED ISSUES IN DEVELOPING IDEAS AND TASKS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN KOREAN CONTEXT

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We all know that the world is changing. However, we do not clearly understand the nature of the changes we have been experiencing. Our perception that the world is changing is very much related to the perception that we ought to learn in order to cope with the changes. But when we cannot make clear what the changes are, why they are happening, and the characters of the changes, it won't be that easy to figure out what to learn in our attempts to confront the challenges. This mixed consciousness that something should be done but not knowing what to do are commonly felt.

Korean society is in the midst of modern and postmodern condition. We talk about and hear about changes in attitudes, values, social systems, the form of organization, and preferences everyday. However, we are not clear about new learning tasks which come up to us with the changes. We easily say that adult education can play an important role in meeting the challenges of our time. However, we haven't yet developed concrete ideas and tasks of adult education of our time. This paper is an attempt to resolve this uncomfortable perplex.

A number of scholars have attempted to analyze the nature of historical changes that we have gone through. In talking about modernity and postmodernity related issues in this paper, the analyses of Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Foucault, Lyotard, and Habermas will be included. Then I will try to connect these analyses to Korean context. I will attempt to analyze some phenomena related to modernity and postmodernity within Korean context. Finally, I will attempt to explicate some ideas and tasks of Korean adult education in our time.

I. Groundworks Related to Modernity and Postmodernity

Even though we often talk about modernity and postmodernity, these two concepts are not clearly defined, so, tend to be differently understood. Therefore, it is important that we are explicit about the concepts first. I begin with the concepts and impacts of modernity.

1. Modernity and Enlightenment

The concept of modernity is rooted in the project of Enlightenment. And the project of Enlightenment has its origin in the age of Enlightenment. Since the age of Enlightenment, the power and potentiality of reason has been vitalized. This vitalization of reason is the basis of the project of modernity, which proposes the rational and progressive construction andtransformation of society and reality. McCarthy's comment will be helpful to understand the concept of modernity based on the project of Enlightenment.

> The Enlightenment's belief in progress rested on an idea of reason modeled after Newtonian physics, which, with its reliable method and secure growth, was thought to provide a paradigm for knowledge in general. The impact of the advance of science on society as a whole was not envisioned in the first instance as an expansion of productive forces and a refinement of administrative techniques but in terms of its effect on the cultural context of life. In particular, the belief--for us, today, rather implausible--in morality, was based not only on an assimilation of the logics of theoretical and practical questions but also on the historical experience of the powerful reverberations of early modern science in the spheres of religion, morals, and politics. The cultural rationalization emanating effect on traditional habits of thought--the progressive eradication of inherited "superstitions, prejudices, errors"--formed the center of an encompassing rationalization of social life, which included a transformation of political and economic structures as well. The embodiment of reason in the political realm meant the establishment of a republican form of government with guarantees of civil liberties and an institutionally secured public sphere, so that political power could be rationalized through the medium of public discussion to reflect the general will and common interest. On the other hand, the embodiment of reason in the economic sphere meant the establishment of a social space for the free pursuit of one's own self-interest, so far as it was compatible with a like pursuit by all other individuals. The global result of this would be a continuous increase in the general wealth of society and a growing equality of the shares of falling to its individual member.[1]

However, the promise of progress and transformation in the project of modernity are heavily hinged on a paradigm of a subject/object dichotomy. This paradigm makes it hard to resolve issues of dehumanization such as objectification, hierarchy, and injustice. We are still questioning: Progressive compared to what and form whom? And rational in what sense and in whose standpoint? As long as the project of modernity remains in the paradigm of the subject/object dichotomy, it is impossible to settle the question of who or what are the subjects are and who or what are the objects are.

This paradigm of subject/object dichotomy, known as the Cartesian paradigm, is referred to the philosophy of the subject by Habermas.

> The Cartesian paradigm of the solitary thinker--solus ipse--as the proper, even unavoidable, framework for radical reflection on knowledge and morality

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[1] Jűrgen Habermas, The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and Rationalization of Society Vol. I. trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987): xviii-xix.

> dominated philosophical thought in the early modern period. . . . This monological approach preordained certain ways of posing the basic problems of thought and action: subject versus object, reason versus sense, reason versus desire, mind versus body, self versus other, and so on.[2]

Habermas attempts to explain the paradigm of subject/object by drawing on the concept of subjective reason and the philosophy of the subject.

> Subjective reason regulates exactly two fundamental relations that a subject can take up to possible objects. Under "object" the philosophy of the subject understands everything that can be represented as existing; under "subject" it understands first of all the capacities to relate oneself to such entities in the world in an objectivating attitude and to gain control of objects, be it theoretically or practically. The two attitudes of mind are representation and action. The subject relates to objects either to represent them as they are or to produce them as they should be. These two functions of mind are intertwined: knowledge of states of affairs is structurally related to the possibility of intervention in the world as the totality of states of affairs; and successful action requires in turn knowledge of the causal nexus in which it intervenes. The epistemological connection between knowing and acting became all the clearer along the way from Kant through Marx to Peirce, the more a naturalistic concept of the subject gained ground. The concept of the subject developed in empiricism and rationalism and restricted to contemplative behavior, that is, to theoretically grasping objects, was transformed in such a way as to absorb the concept of self-preservation developed in the modern period.[3]

The subjective reason utilized in modern period are vehemently criticized by Horkheimer and Adorno in their book, Eclipse of Reason. Their critique succinctly says, "the societal subject behaves in relation to nature just as the individual subject does in relation to objects: Nature is objectivated and dominated for the sake of reproducing the life of society."[4] That is to say, as Habermas points out, the structure of exploiting an objectivated nature that is placed at subject's disposal repeats itself within society, both in interpersonal relations marked by the suppression of social classes and in intrapsychic relations marked by the repression of our instinctual nature.

Evidently, the paradigm of subject/object cannot transcend the notion of exploitation, domination, and inequality, which make it hard to understand the meaning of progress and development.

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[2] Ibid., ix

[3] Ibid., 387.

[4] Ibid., 389.

2. Some Issues Related to Modernity

Since the age of Enlightenment and the project of modernity, the power and potentiality of reason has been vitalized. The vitality of reason symbolizes its power and potentiality for constructing a more rational and better life and society. This emphasis on the transformative power of reason, furthermore, leads us to transcend the premodern perception of reality as already pregiven. This vitalized reason in its constructive and transformative power contributes to forming the perception that reality is socially constructed rather than pregiven.

The potential for the realization and the fulfillment of the constructive and transforming power of reason is the foundational claim of the project of modernity. The project of Enlightenment or modernity proposes and promises progress by institutionalizing reason in the modern sociocultural, economical, and political forms of life.

However, as a result of this enlightened rationalization or rational differentiation between culture and society which was closely interconnected in premodern times, modern phenomena such as "fragmentation," "discontinuity," and "loss of meaning" have emerged. These modern phenomena are directly and indirectly related to the problems of "anomie," "alienation," "unstable identities," and "existential insecurities." Therefore, the implicit promise that progress would be made in modern culture and society as a result of the project of modernity, becomes very problematic, especially in relation to the advancement of freedom, justice, happiness, and self-realization.

The occurrence of these modern phenomena and problems lead some social theorists to raise the questions of: What have we gained or lost as a consequence of modernization? To whose standpoint and to what sense has modernization brought about progress?

1) Marx's Analysis on Alienation

I will begin my discussion of some issues related to modernity with Karl Marx' analysis on alienation. Marx recognizes the emancipatory potential within the modernization process He writes that modernization brings about the advanced forces of production, which could lead to the creation of more productive and better lives for human beings. But these forces of production have been fettered by capitalistic relations of production. Habermas explains:

> According to Marx, the rationalization of society takes place directly in the development of productive forces, that is, in the expansion of empirical knowledge, the improvement of production, and organization of socially useful labor power. On the other hand, relations of production, the institutionalization that express the distribution of social power and regulate a differential access to the means of production, are revolutionized only under the pressure of rationalization of productive forces.[5]

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[5] Ibid., 144.

By contrasting the forces of production with the relations of production, and also through associating the former with the emancipatory potential of society, and the latter with the emergence of the capitalist economy and the modern state, Marx illuminates how the two--forces and relations of production--ought to be related. His critique is directed toward uncovering opposites to these oppressive social conditions and pointing to the confinement of the revolutionary and emancipatory potentials of the modernization process. In order to redeem the emancipatory potential from the rationalization process, Marx centered his analysis on the questions of what fettered the forces of production and on how and why this fettered forces of production blocked the revolutionary emancipation.

Marx's analysis on commodity elucidates how and why the institutional framework of the capitalist mode of production induced the constraints of the forces of production and thereby engendered alienated social conditions and structures.

Marx exposes the close connection between commodity and the way in which people's historical and creative productive work is institutionally neutralized and abstracted from life. Marx developed his concept of alienation coming from the "alienation of the worker in his object."[6]

> 1) Alienation of labor from its product (which is the alienation of the laborer from the object of his production), alienation from the object:
>
> a) Labor is independent of, alien to its product, which is in other hands; labor remains a thing outside the laborer, it is only his exterior state: 'appropriation is alienation,' 'realization of labor is its derealizaition' (even so far as starvation).
>
> b) The life that labor has given the object of its labor confronts it as a hostile force.
>
> c) Labor becomes the slave of its object, since only through it can the laborer continue to exist, not only as a worker, but as a human being.
>
> 2)Alienation of labor from the act of production, self-alienation:
>
> a) Since labor is exterior to the laborer, labor is forced labor, a means to satisfy needs, not a need itself: 'what is animal in man becomes human, what is human becomes animal.'
>
> 3)Alienation of man from nature, hence from his species, mankind:
>
> a) Since mankind's deepest need is to produce, to create, and alienation makes productive life only a means to satisfy needs, individual man is alienated from mankind: 'man makes his essence only a means of his existence.'
>
> b) Since alienated labor takes species-life away from man, it takes his advantage over the animal away from him. A worker may as well be a horse the way society treats him: he gets just enough to keep going.
>
> c) The life of mankind is alienated as a whole; man is not what he should be as a human being, but finds himself treated as a means, as a tool.

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[6] Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 ed. Dirk J. Struik (New York: International Publishers, 1964), 46.

d) Hence, man is alienated from his fellow man, since he treats him also as a means, a tool.[7]

For Marx, the capitalist mode of production institutionalizes the commodification of labor through objectifying concrete work, and valorization of capital. Capitalistic relations of production fetter the forces of production by systematically blocking the emanicpatory potential of the modernization process in the form of neutralized, objectified, and alienated labor conditions. According to Marx, alienated consciousness is deeply connected to social conditions. Marx explicates how the unfreedom generated by exploitive social conditions causes alienation, and moreover stifles the inherently creative human capacity to work by combining mental and manual labor.

2) Weber's Analysis on Bureaucratization and Instrumental Rationality

Second issue related to modernity can be Weber's analysis on bureaucratization and the dominance of instrumental rationality in modern culture and society. Weber problematizes and characterizes the institutional framework of the capital economy and modern state differently form Marx. Whereas Marx characterized it as a capitalistic mode of production that fetters the forces of production, and which blocks the emancipatory potential of rationalization, Weber conceptualized it as "subsystems of purposive-rational action in which Occidental rationalization develops at a societal level."[8] In explaining Occidental rationalism with the help of a theory of cultural and societal rationalization, Weber emphasized two major characters within Western society's unique rationalization process--the rationalization of worldviews and the transposition of cultural rationalization into societal rationalization.

For Weber, the rationalization of worldviews could happen only when the worldviews are decentered and disenchanted from traditional religious-metaphysical worldviews. In premodern society, when the enchantment by religious-metaphysical worldviews was dominant, the cognitive, evaluative, and expressive elements of culture were very closely integrated together. This undifferentiated unity of worldviews and culture leads people not to differentiate, or to mix the different validity claims of value spheres such as truth, normative rightness. and authentic statements or beauty.

The disenchantment of the world which characterizes modernity is a rationalization process which dissolves the traditional superstitions and prejudices. Through differentiating the three value spheres-cognitive, normative, and expressive-and developing a different logic of its own, modern cultural rationalization has evolved. However, modern cultural rationalization has paid the price for this differentiation values and logic. This modern differentiation process is unable to replace the framework for unity and meaning that premodern metaphysical-religious worldviews used to fulfill. In place of a unitary ground, cultural rationalization creates irreducible plurality of competing values and irreconcilable interests of culture which has affected to generate the modern problem of "loss of meaning."

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[7] Ibid., 46-47.

[8] Habermas, The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and Rationalization of Society, 144.

Moreover, this cultural rationalization, with the help of Protestant ethic, is transposed into societal rationalization which includes the differentiation between the capitalist economy and the modern state. According to Weber, the capitalist economy and modern state produce and increase the level of societal rationalization by systematically structuring economic actions and administration.

What Weber wants to do, in explaining Occidental rationalism, is to elucidate the institutionalization of purposive-rational action in terms of a process of rationalization. The totalizing dominance of purposive rationality in the post-traditional rationalization process can be clearly represented by the modern creation of bureaucratic society.

> For Weber, bureaucratization is a key to understanding modern societies. They are marked by the appearance of a new type of organization: economic production is organized in a capitalist manner, with rationally calculating entrepreneurs; public administration is organized in a bureaucratic manner, with juristically trained, specialized officials--that is, they are organized in the form of private enterprises and public bureaucracies. The relevant means for carrying out their tasks are concentrated in the hands of owners and leaders; membership in these organizations is made independent of ascriptive properties. By these means, organization gain a high degree of internal flexibility and external autonomy. In virtue of their efficiency, the organizational forms of the capitalist economy and the modern state administration establish themselves in other actions systems to such an extent that modern societies fit the picture of 'society of organizations,' even from the standpoint of lay members.[9]

According to Weber, bureaucratization in society establishes two things at once: the highest form of societal rationality and the effective subsumption of acting subjects under the objective force which subsequently foments the subjects' "loss of freedom." Bureaucracy increases organizational and systemic rationality, stripping the value-rational and ethical meaning of human actions (loss of meaning) through objectifying and depersonalizing the social relations within an organization (loss of freedom).

Occidental rationalism has embodied a partial rationalization process which brought about cultural rationalization and societal rationalization. Weber is very critical of the issue of whether this modernization process, and the project of enlightenment have fulfilled their promise of progress in human life within society. Actually, Weber negatively argues this promise of progress in the project of modernity and expresses deeply pessimistic views concerning enlightenment or modernity's faith in reason and progress. Bernstein offers an excellent explication of Weber's argument:

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[9] Habermas, The Theory of Communicative Action, Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason, 306.

> Weber argued that the hope and expectation of the Enlightenment thinkers was a bitter and ironic illusion. They maintained a strong necessary linkage between the growth of science, rationality, and universal human freedom. but when unmasked and understood, the legacy of the Enlightenment was the triumph of purposive-instrumental rationality. This form of rationality affects and infects the entire range of social and cultural life encompassing economic structures, law, bureaucratic administration, and even the arts. The growth of purposive-instrumental rationality does not lead to the concrete realization of universal freedom but to the creation of an 'iron cage' of bureaucratic rationality from there is no escape.[10]

Weber defines modern rationality as purposive rationality, the embodiment of instrumental rationality and rationality of choice. It is "means/ends rationality."[11] In relation to an instrumental rationality-oriented bureaucratic system, Weber made a pessimistic prognosis of late capitalism, claiming that there exists in modern society an "inexorable process that produces only 'sensualists without spirit, specialists without heart,' and locks us all into the 'iron cage.'[12] Weber points out that bureaucratization not only leads to a reification of social relationships, but that it also stifles motivational incentives for a rational conduct of life.

3) Durkheim's Analysis on Anomie and Social Integration

The third issue tied to modernity can be Durkheim's analysis on social phenomena of anomie and the issue of social integration. Durkheim is concerned with the relationship between the dissolution of archaic moral cores and the modern problem of social integration. In the context of highly differentiated modern societies, Durkheim asks how social order and social integration are possible, and what provides the ground for moral authority and political legitimation in different societies. The break off from the premodern societies and the disintegration of archaic moral cores has led to modern socio-cultural issue of, "anomie."

In the evolution of modern society, according to Durkheim, structural differentiation of the system with the division of labor cuts off the roots of normativity and creates a norm-free sociality. This norm-free sociality has been engendered out of replacement of collective consciousness by a mechanism which leads to a division of labor constitutive of modern forms of societal integration--namely, through the market. However, this market mechanism generates a systemic integration of society which is uncoupled from the value orientation of individual actors. It performs the norm-free regulating function, where actions are oriented by the aggregate effects of individual interests. And where interest is the only ruling force each individual finds oneself "in a state of war with every other, since nothing comes to mollify the egos, and any truce in this antagonism would not be of long duration. There is nothing else constant than interest" which makes it hard to be grounded in social and moral norms or values.[13]

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[10] Richard Bernstein, Habermas and Modernity, 5.

[11] Habermas, The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the Rationalization of Society, xix.

[12] Bernstein, Habermas and Modernity, 10.

The phenomena of "anomie" has been rested on crisis of values and moral ground, the ground for binding power. And the crisis of moral ground make it hard to form social integration and social order. Durkheim attempts to reestablish the normative validity of modern institutions and values by "unearthing the sacred roots of the moral authority of social norms."[14]

In his attempt to restore the ground for social integration, Durkheim investigates the character of moral rule or social norms. In his presentation of "the determination of Moral Facts," Durkheim attempts to elucidate that "moral rules are invested with a special authority by virtue of which they are obeyed simply because they command."[15] Thus, obligation, for Durkheim, is one of the primary character of moral rules.

In further explaining the obligatory character of this type of authority, Durkheim analyzes two features of "moral facts": "a) the mark of the impersonal that attaches to moral authority; and b) the ambivalent feelings that this triggers in the actor."[16] Habermas comments:

> a) Durkheim first discusses the Kantian opposition between duty and inclination from the standpoint that the relation of moral precepts and the interests of the individual is one of tension. Imperatives of self-maintenance, interests in the satisfaction of private needs and desires--in short, action orientation that are utilitarian and related to oneself--are not as such in accord with moral requirements, which demand, rather, that the actor raise himself above himself. The selfishness of the morally acting individual corresponds to the universality of morally formed expectations, which are directed to all the members of a community: 'Morality begins with membership in a group, whatever that group may be.'
> b) There is also a second standpoint from which Durkheim discusses the Kantian distinction between duty and inclination, namely, that moral commands exert a singular force upon the individual. A subject acting morally has to submit to an authority and do violence to his nature in a certain sense, but he does this in such a way that he takes on the obligation himself and makes the moral requirements his own.... Moral constraint has the character of a self-overcoming. On the other hand, Durkheim relativizes the Kantian dualism by deriving the binding power of obligations from constraint and attractions simultaneously. The morally good is at

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[13] Ibid., 116.

[14] Habermas, The Theory of Communicative Action Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason, 47.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 48.

> the same time something worth pursuing; it could not be effective as an ideal and arouse enthusiastic fervor if it did not offer the prospect of satisfying real needs and desires.[17]

Thus, Durkheim adds a second character, desirability, to the obligatory character of moral acts.

In respect two characters of moral acts and two features of moral facts, Durkheim points out the relationship between the validity of moral rules and the aura of the sacred.

> In investigating mythical representations and ritual behavior in primitive societies, we encounter a demarcation of sacred and profane areas of life: 'The sacred . . . is that which is set apart, that which is separated . . . What characterizes it, is that it cannot, without losing its nature, be mixed with the profane. . . . Like the attitude toward moral authority, the attitude the sacred is marked by devotion and self-renunciation; in worshipping the sacred, in performing cultic actions, in observing ritual prescriptions, and the like, the believer renounces his profane action orientations, that is, those that are utilitarian and related to the self. Without regard for the imperative of self-maintenance, for personal interest, he enters into communion with all other believers; he merges with the impersonal power of the sacred which reaches beyond all that is merely individual.[18]

As shown above, one primary mark of moral authority is its impersonal power which originated from its sacred roots.

There is similarities between the moral authority and the authority of the sacred in terms of having an ambivalent attitude. Durkheim points out that "the sacred being is in a sense forbidden; it is a being which may not be violated; it is also good, loved and sought after."[19] The dual sentiments toward the sacred parallel the individuals' dual feelings toward moral principles--the desire to do whatever one wants to do versus the conscience compelling one to do what one ought to do.

Thus, to Durkheim, the moral authority is rooted in the sacred. That is to say, moral rules get their binding power from the sphere of the sacred. The character of the sacred can be described as "impersonal, commanding respect, overpowering and at the same time uplifting, as triggering enthusiasm, motivating the faithful to selflessness and self-overcoming, permitting them to put their own interests aside."[20] Furthermore, by associating religious experience with the representation of the sacred, Durkheim points out that the individual's experience of the authority of the sacred essentially involves coming to terms with a collective, supraindividual consciousness.

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[17] Ibid., 48-49.

[18] Ibid., 49.

[19] Ibid.

Durkheim, by illustrating the impact of religious symbols on collective consciousness and identity, attempts to resolve the question: "how can we at one and the same time belong wholly to ourselves and just as completely to others? How can we be simultaneously within ourselves and outside of ourselves?"[21] For Durkheim, the consensus character of morality is rooted in the sacred as represented via religious symbols.

Durkheim analyzes this normatively oriented consensus in connection with ritual practices. In Habermas's interpretation of Durkheim, ritual practice and action not only express the collective consciousness but also bring about communion in a communicative fashion. This communion in a communicative way represents its unity and its personality in ritual practice. Furthermore, through participating and performing ritual practice, collective identity can be developed in the form of normative consensus.

However, since the normative consensus can be distinguished from achieved consensus, the concept of identity between these two types of consensus need accordingly to be distinguished. According to Habermas, the identities which the individual develops through the form of normative consensus, "are established equiprimordially with the identity of the group. What makes the individual into a person is that in which he agrees with all the other members of his social group."[22] From the standpoint of this collective identity, it can be inferred that the identity of the person is only a mirror image of collective identity. This normative consensual form of collective consciousness and identity contributes to securing social solidarity in what Durkheim terms a mechanical form.

This mechanical formation of social solidarity, normatively integrated through the archaic forms of ritual practice and action, and thereby disregarding individuation and differentiation, is hard to continue in the differentiated and rationalized modern society, and therefore the question of how the individual and society stand to one another is raised once again. Furthermore, in the process of secularization, as the sacred roots of binding power are dissolved, the question can be posed as to whether secularized morality (when reinterpreted in utilitarian terms) can encompass at all obligatory and integrating character of strong social norms. This means that we need to explain "how the unity-bringing symbolic structure is related to the multiplicity of institutions and socialized individuals."[23] Furthermore, this calls for a reexamination of the normative ground of social and political institutions and values owing to a different level of socio-cultural development.

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[20] Ibid., 51.

[21] Ibid., 51-52

[22] Ibid., 53.

[23] Ibid., 55.

In explaining how social order or social integration is possible in modern society after the dissolution of the sacred roots of moral authority, Durkheim places the modern legal development in the context of changing forms of social integration. Durkheim characterizes modern law as contract law, where "the contract between autonomous legal person is the basic instrument of bourgeois private law."[24] The binding power of this contract law is its coerciveness. Contract law implies that legal claims require the guarantee of obedience to law. However, Durkheim does not consider that the coerciveness of modern contract law is enough for explaining the issue of social integration in modern society. In explaining the reasons for that, Durkheim claims that "even the modern legal subject has to have a moral core. For the legal system is part of a political order, together with which it would break down if that order could not claim legitimacy."[25]

For Durkheim, the legitimacy of contract law is grounded in moral and social norms which transcend individual interest. Habermas comments that for Durkheim, the obligatory character of a contract is based on not the coerciveness of law but on the legitimacy of the legal regulations that underlie it. Moreover, the latter, according to Durkheim, count as legitimate only insofar as they express a general interest. This general interest, for Durkheim, is by no means the sum of, or a compromise between, a number of individual interests. Rather, the general interest evokes its morally obligatory force from its impersonal and impartial character.

The state, according to Durkheim, is a special organization whose responsibility is to provide certain representations which can hold good for the collectivity. For Durkheim, the legitimacy of the modern state can be best achieved when it is transformed "from the sacred foundation of legitimation to foundation of a common will, communicatively shaped and discursively clarified in the political public sphere."[26] This transformation can be achieved through promoting the medium of political-will formation which is essential for the realization of the principle of democracy.

> In modern law, the private contract draws its binding power from its legality; but the law that gives it this legality owes its obligatory character, demanding recognition, to a legal system legitimated in the end by political will-formation. It is the achievement of mutual understanding by a communication community of citizens, their own words, that brings about the binding consensus.[27]

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[24] Ibid., 80.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., 81.

[27] Ibid.

This democratic development is possible only when the transformation from mechanical to organic social solidarity is attained.

2. Emotivism and Postmodernity

After the project of Enlightenment, the traditional metaphysical-religious world views are secularized. According to MacIntyre, the modern secularized rationality has replaced the telos and the common-bond oriented morality and rationality. This affects to increase the dominance of utilitarianism and individualism, and the emergence of "emotivism."[28] Emotivism is the doctrine that all evaluative judgments and more specifically, moral judgments are nothing but expressions of preference, expressions of attitude or feeling in so far as they are moral or evaluative in character.

> The peculiar modern self, the emotive self, in acquiring sovereignty in its own realm lost its traditional boundaries provided by a social identity and a view of human life as ordered to a given end. . . . The emotive self has its own kind of social definition. . . . The bifurcation of the contemporary social world into a realm of the organizational in which ends are taken to be given and are not available for rational scrutiny and a realm of the personal in which judgment and debate about values are central factors, but in which no rational social resolution of issues is available, finds its internalization, its inner representation in the relation of the individual self to the roles and characters of social life. This bifurcation is itself an important clue to the central characteristics of modern societies. . . . On the one side there appear the self-defined protagonists of individual liberty, on the other the self-defined protagonists of planning and regulation, of the goods which are available through bureaucratic organization. . . . Given this deep cultural agreement, it is unsurprising that the politics of modern societies oscillate between a freedom which is nothing but a lack of regulation of individual behavior and forms of collective control designed only to limit the anarchy of self-interest. . . . thus the society in which we live is one in which bureaucracy and individualism are partners as well as antagonists. And it is in the cultural climate of this bureaucratic individualism that the emotivist self is naturally at home.[29]

Since the emergence of the project of modernity and the enlightenment, the modern and postmodern culture and society celebrate constraint-free, individual liberty at the cost of a common-good oriented rationality and morality, resulting in moral, social, and political confusion.

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[28] Alasdair MacIntyre, After Virtue 2d ed. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 11-12.

[29] Ibid., 34-35.

"Emotivism" which claims that moral judgment is a matter of personal preference invalidate interpersonal and social ground of ethics and morality. Rather, this emotivist attitudes contribute to fomenting postmodern condition and trends. Grasping the concept of postmodernity presuppose understanding the concept of modernity for the reason that postmodernity attempts to criticize and deconstruct the underlying assumptions of modernity. The concept of postmodernity is not agreed upon concept. Therefore, we can trace its concept by the ideas of some scholars who are referred to postmodernists. For representative postmodern thinkers, I will include Foucault and Lyotard.

1) Foucault

The concept of modernity is rooted in power of reason. Thanks to reason, the project of modernity proposes the construction of progressive and rational society and culture. Therefore, main underlying assumptions of modernity can be found in rational worldviews and objective knowledge. Rational worldviews elucidate what it means to live rationally. Rational living requires one to repress one's emotion, to perceive nature with clear thinking, and act with good reasoning. Objective knowledge is distinguished from mere opinion. Objective knowledge, attained by rational procedure and reasoning, can be universally applied.

What Foucault assaults is the claim of universalibility of objective knowledge. According to Foucault, attainment of objective knowledge is illusion, therefore, cannot be universally applied. He claims that knowledge is constructed by everyday discursive practice. This means that no knowledge is possible without concrete discursive practice. For Foucault, the discourses which are connected to the construction of knowledge consist of different kinds of groups of speeches and statements whether written or spoken. The basic unit of discourse is groups of speeches and statements. The similar statements can be differently affected and understood. The real meaning and impact of speeches and statements are contexts bounded, that is to say, the same statements are differently used and understood by its way to speak or spoken, the place and the status it is used, its relation to institution and law, and how it is distributed. According to Foucault, the basic unit of discourse--speeches and statements do not have fixed object nor fixed subject. The speeches can be meaningful only when they are related to meaning structures. When the speeches form certain relationship with other speeches, they makes a discourse.[30]

If knowledge is constructed by everyday discursive practice and if discourse is formed by everyday contexts bounded speeches and statements, knowledge can never be objective. Rather knowledge is contexts bounded. In practicing discourse, not all speeches or ideas are chosen but some are included and others excluded. This practice of inclusion and exclusion tells that there is power structure in everyday discursive practice. Power, for Foucault, is formed and exercised in person to person or group to group relationships. Power is more related to social relational and interpersonal practice. For Foucualt, knowledge is deeply connected to power. That is to say, knowledge contributes to generating power and power is exercised through the production and the distribution of knowledge.

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[30] See Michel Foucault, Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings ed. Coling Gordon. (New York: Pantheon Books., 1980) and Foucault: A Critical Reaer ed. David Cousens Hoy (Basil Blackwell, 1986).

Foucault's analysis on knowledge and power actually charges the hypocratic and constraining nature of reason. According to Foucault, modernity which proposes a rational and liberating life, in real nature, confines us more by demarcating between normal and abnormal, between rational and irrational, between right and wrong, and between reasonable and emotional. According to Foucault, the concept and practice of rational life and good life are nothing but the product of power relations of dominant human relationships and social practice. In the name of rational, right and good, anything different from the standard practice is repressed, rejected, and named irrational, wrong, and bad.[31]

2) Lyotard

Lyotard's book, The Postmodern Condition sparks academic debate and contributes to distributing the term, postmodernism.[32] According to Lyotard, the modernity related intellectual issues have been centered around the notions of progress, liberation, equality, freedom, and democracy which are thought of universal issues to everyone. These notions seem to be ultimate purposes for everyone and presumed to be pursued by all. Moreover, these meta issues of humanity come to be recognized as the main purposes of every disciplines such as political science, economy, history, sociology, biology, physics etc.. Almost all disciplines stress disciplinary structure of logical coherence and unity. Any theory which is outside these grand theories is excluded and recognized as pseudo theories. The representative grand theorists can be Hegel, Marx, and Kant etc..

According to Lyotard, the grand theory is not appropriate for the future world, postmodern society. In postmodern society, the diverse language games and a varieties of discourses are mixed together. In this diverse societies, the grand theory cannot incorporate all the differences. Law, philosophy, science, literature, economics have their own different language games and logics, therefore, are impossible to be integrated by one grand theory which proffers one standards.

A fact, according to Lyotard, is never given but is made as a result of language game. In other words, a fact is induced by individual discourse rather than is given. Therefore, the meta-theories which do not have factual ground by itself, cannot be integrating ground for all those multiple discourses. The unifying attempt which ignores multiplicity among diverse language games and logics, for Lyotard, is equal to totalitarian terror.

For Lyotard, modernists' pursuit of coherent and unified grand theory destroys the diverse experiences and multiple ways of living but forces us to have one kind of life--the totalitarian life. According to Lyotard, only different styles and multiple ways of living become adequate and come to be the postmodern condition. In this postmodern societies which emphasize differences in tastes, preferences, styles, values, attitudes, and ways of thinking and living, do not need to struggle to seek the consistencies or coherence among the differences. Promoting the differences in daily life in postmodern societies makes it possible to have creative life, transcending traditional life which have been totalized our life.

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[31] See Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison (New York: Vintage Books).

[32] See J. F. Lyotard, The Postmodern Condition, trans. G. Bennington and B. Massuni, (Univ. of Minnesota Press).

According to Lyotard, the adequate discourse in postmodern societies should be local narratives. These local narratives make it possible to have different life styles and multiple ways of living. Local narratives are happened around a person's family, community, job, and personal matters unlike the grand narratives of national development, historical progress, and human liberation. In the postmodern societies where local narratives become focus, local knowledges replace universal and objective knowledge.

Lyotard's attack on grand theories, especially its universal and unifying trends, break off consistency, coherence, and unity. What is left, thus, is differences with no standards nor criteria. However, when there are only differences, how can we make an judgment, develop sharable social norms and rules? Foucault nor Lyotard do not seem to be concerned in these matters.

So far, by introducing Foucault and Lyotard's ideas, I have tried to portray what postmodernity is. Even though the concept of postmodernity is not well defined owing to the different views among postmodern thinkers, we can trace general nature of postmodernity. Postmodernity which has illustrated by postmodern thinkers, such as Foucault, Lyotard, Derrida, and Lacan etc., attempts to deconstruct modernity's basis, the ground of reason, subjectivity, and historical continuity. By deconstructing the ground of modernity, postmodernity eradicates the roots of reason and confer us criterialess society. When there is no criteria to tell right from wrong, rational from irrational, good from bad, everything is possible. In this postmodern context, we can no longer say what the goodness is nor what the badness is. No more can we claim democracy is better than dictatorship. Only differences are left to us.

3) Habermas's Analysis on "Colonization of Lifeworld"

Habermas develops his concept and analyses of reason and human action. This offers a framework for examining the relationship between reason and social reality (social condition and structure). Specifically, this helps to reevaluate the project of Enlightenment or modernity by enabling us to analyze how reason has been positively and negatively manifested in modern sociocultural and political life forms.

The project of modernity has contributed to transforming the premodern, deterministic view of reality. Supported and grounded by revitalized reason's power and potentiality, the project of modernity proposes the construction and transformation of social reality toward a more progressive and rational life and society. This construction and transformation involves the processes of differentiation, dissolution, and disenchantment of the religious-metaphysical worldviews--from its irrational superstitions, and unreasonable and unjust prejudice and determinism.

However, this promise of progress in the project of modernity hinges to a great extent on the paradigm of the dichotomy of subject and object. This paradigm stresses the increased control and efficiency of modern society which in turn engenders dehumanization, as seen in the problems of alienation, objectification, and domination. These issues, for Marx, Weber, and Critical theorists, epitomize the impact of the deformed type of rationalization of modernity.

The subject/object paradigm promotes the division between subject (the being to take control, or charge of) and object (the being to be controlled and dominated). This dichotomy between subject and object is reinforced by the objectifying attitude and by reifying consciousness and culture. Moreover, this paradigm, by contributing to shaping and framing its paradigmatic (subject and object division) oriented socialization and social order or control, escalates the divisions, alienation, and hierarchy within societies. What this subject and object division-oriented socialization and social order fortify is the subject-centered values, attitudes, consciousness, and order. These intensified divisions in human life within societies further the issues of dehumanization and subhumanzation by aggravating the oppressive, dominating, reifying, and alienating social conditions and structures.

In an attempt to overcome the deformed rationalization (which might further the unfinished project of modernity), and thereby to construct a more humanizing life and society, Habermas proposes a paradigm shift from the subject versus object paradigm to an intersubjective paradigm. This alternative paradigm, according to Habermas, ought to include the notions for overcoming the subject and object division oriented-socialization, subject-centered purposeful activities, values, consciousness. and social control and order. Therefore, this alternative framework necessarily stresses more interactive, intersubjective, cooperative, and dialogical sociocultural and political developments. For Habermas, the theory of communicative action elucidates well the intersubjective paradigm.

Communicative action employs communicative rationality which requires at least two parties. Habermas explains:

> The paradigm for the communicative rationality is not the relation of a solitary subject to something in the objective world that can be represented and manipulated, but the intersubjective relation that speaking and acting subjects take up when they come to an understanding with one another about something.[33]

Communicative rationality, therefore, for Habermas, is primarily used to come to an understanding which can be obtained through accomplishing intersubjective validity relations. One crucial condition to coming to an understanding, according to Habermas, is that the participants be uncoerced and grounded in reason.

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[33] Habermas, The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and Rationalization of Society, 392.

The intersubjectively based paradigm ought to offer a relevant framework for a different and transcending understanding and conceptualization of socialization, social integration, and cultural production and reproduction. Examining the nature and character of linguistically-mediated and coordinated interactions and intersubjectively developed socialization, social integration, and cultural production and reproduction leads us to understand better the impacts of communicative action on the construction of a more humanizing life and society.

When sacredly integrated culture, society, and personality are rationalized and transformed through the medium of linguistification or through the practice of communicative action, Habermas claims that this rationalization accomplished by linguistification of the sacred preserves the "continuation of traditions, the maintenance of legitimate orders, and the continuity of life histories of individual persons."[34] However, the prevalent pathological manifestations of anomie, fragmentation, discontinuity, and insecure identity suggest that rational potential linguistification has not been fully released in the modernization processes thereby engenders the broken reality between linguistifiction and rationalization. This inhibited linguistification, for Habermas, leads to deformed or repressed rationalization.

In analyzing what blocks the linguistically mediated and intersubjectively based rationalization process, Habermas points to the dominance of functionalist reason. According to Habermas, functionalist reason becomes a repressive mechanism in linguistification process. The dominance of the de-linguistified mechanism, such as money and power, over linguistically mediated interaction, supported and promoted for the sake of system functioning and maintenance as the simplifying tool for reducing the cost of disagreements and conflictive views, leads to what Habermas terms the uncoupling of system and lifeworld or colonization of lifeworld.

According to Habermas, the lifeworld concept of society is based on the acting subjects' creative roles of constructing, negotiating, and reconstructing the social meanings of their society. The system concept of society focuses more on self-regulating systems, which fulfill functions with respect to the maintenance of the societal systems. Functionalist reason becomes dominant here.

Habermas strongly stresses that an adequate and proper concept of society ought to synthesize these two competing concepts of society.

> We cannot understand the character of the lifeworld unless we understand the social systems that shape it, and we cannot understand the social systems unless we see how they arise out of activities of social agents. The synthesis of system and lifeworld orientations is integrated with Habermas's delineation of different forms of rationality and rationalization; systems rationality is a type of purposive-rational rationality, lifeworld rationality is communicative

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[34] Habermas, The Theory of Communicative Action, Lifeworld, and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason, 108.

rationality.[35]

The dominance of functionalist reason (the mechanism of money and power from the system of economy and the state) and the inhibition of communicative action means that structural components of lifeworld--culture (as the ground for standards of the rationality of knowledge), society (the solidarity of members), and personality (the responsibility of the adult personality) are colonized by systemic integration mechanism.

The colonization of lifeworld disrupts lifeworld reproduction process--cultural production and reproduction, social integration, socialization and identity development. And this hurts greatly the quality of our everyday life. The mutilation of the lifeworld by systemic integrational mechanism can also be understood in relation to Weber's notion of "loss of freedom" and "loss of meaning," which permeates both the private and public spheres. The private way of life was reformulate in order to be adjusted to capitalist labor relations. Persons become dependent on their organizational membership of employees or on their organizational dependence as clients. This is a threat to individual freedom. Moreover, when functionalist reason is perceived as the dominant rationality, individuals' lives in society become increasingly reified and abstracted. With this reifying form of life, persons lose their ability to give their life histories a certain degree of consistent direction.

In the light of this concept of the colonization of the lifeworld, Habermas writes that within the welfare-state, there developed four existing relations between "system (economy and state) and lifeworld (private and public spheres), around which the roles of the employee and the consumer, the client of public bureaucracies and the citizen of the state, crystallize."[36] Social welfare policy purports to maintain the system by reducing extreme disadvantages, insecurities, or class conflicts without affecting the structurally unequal access to property, income, and power relations.

The inhibition of communicative action and the colonization of lifeworld has brought about amoral, asocial, and apolitical effects. These effects lead to further fragmentation of persons within society, and generate the psychopathological and sociopathological problems relating to the problem of anomie and identity, and to the issues of such as motivation, and legitimation crises. The new task for humanization is very closely related to how to recouple the system and lifeworld and thereby overcome fragmentation through educative processes.

II. Modernity- and Postmodernity-Related Phenomena in the Korean Context

Korea is well known for its rapid economic development. A number of social scientists and foreign countries have wondered how Korea has achieved economic development in such a short time. Several attempts have been made to analyze what brings to Korea such an development. I am not here to discuss such analyses. What interests me is the impact of economic, socio-cultural, and political developments of Korea upon our daily life, our ways of living, our belief system, and our attitudes toward other persons and society at large. Korea society is considered to be in the midst of modern and postmodern conditions. This means that we are going through a great deal of changes. How do we perceive and assess such changes?

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[35] Bernstein, Habermas and Modernity, 22.

[36] Habermas, The Theory of Communiative Action, Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functioalist Reason, 349.

The expression, "What a convenient world we are living!" becomes a common talk we hear and say in our daily life. The transformation of Korea into an industrial and postindustrial society has brought to Koreans, for sure, extensive convenience in our daily life. Convenience comes to be the major focus of life. We are buying products for convenience's sake not because we need the product. We are even educating ourselves to increase access to convenience rather than to fulfill dream about life. The concept of good life means, now, to Koreans to have a convenient life, geared to personal wants rather than human needs.

Traditionally for Koreans, the principal purpose of education is to develop the ground for their position in society, in the world, and in the universe. This includes understanding who s/he is and what s/he ought to do for society as well as cultivating her/his mind and capability sufficiently to be ready for life-long commitment. That is to say, the crucial educational endeavors of Koreans are value-oriented. The pursuit of conveniences in life, for aged Koreans, is perceived to be a Western thing.

It is evident that the concept of good life has been changed. When the concept is value-oriented, it requires constant search and endeavor; therefore, it can give directions and hopes of life. When the concept is wants-oriented, it requires immediate fulfillment and transient quest; therefore, it cannot offer any continuity and direction. In this concept of life, we are living moment to moment, hence, no need of having hopes or dreams. We may live by temporary wants.

I will try to contextualize this change in life focus in order to illustrate the impacts of this change on daily life in Korea. The different attitudes toward life between young and old generations have much to do with the disturbances of the Korean lifeworld. As mentioned before, the structural components of the lifeworld--culture, society, and personality--are responsible for the cultural production and reproduction which is connected to transmission and reproduction of tradition, social integration based on communicative rationality, and socialization in relation to identity and personality development. The disturbances in the lifeworld mean problems in cultural production and reproduction, social integration, and personality development.

Lifeworld is the background for mutual understanding and the development of interpersonal and social relations. The postmodern phenomenon of "communication break," found between old and young generations in Korea, is a good example. The younger Korean generation, referred to "X Generation" or "New Generation," is considered to be a postmodern generation. They are well known by their outspokenness of their intention and preferences. However, they do not seem to care to get understood nor to understand others. When asked to explain reasons for their action, their attitude is more like saying, "It's none of your business." I have had this kind of communication break experience with my freshman and sophomore students.

The phenomenon of communication break is more serious in the junior high or high school life contexts. Students do not care to listen what teachers say. Most students seem to pass their judgments based on their preference--what they like or dislike to do. Therefore, teachers who still maintain their grounds of reasoning, are having a lot of difficulty in developing sharable culture with students. When scolded by their teacher, students simply respond by saying, "Just because I don't like."

Another modern and postmodern phenomenon is related to "human relations break." When society gets highly differentiated and developed, our life become complex and busy, structuring works and leisure sufficiently convenient for a person's work. This tendency toward individualistic behavior has changed the group-oriented daily activities. Koreans, in daily activities--such as going out to eat at a restaurant, going hiking, playing sports, or even going to the rest room-- tend to act in a group. But now, we tend to like to do things individaully. And the busily structured and individualism-oriented life has led to form the attitude of minding own business and not caring about others'.

This attitude is very much for Western and against the dominant Korean feelings of jung, which contains the mixed feelings of liking, love, affection, as well as dislike and hate, having developed through long and gradually evolving human relationships. The basis of "jung" is care and interest among persons. We, Koreans tend to believe the emotion of "jung" is uniquely Korean. In many cases, in Korean society, our doing or not doing certain things are more related to "jung" rather than rationality. jung represent how strongly Koreans put emphasis on human relations. Therefore, the Western kind of attitude toward human relations, such as "Mind your own business" shatters Koreans' traditional way of making human relations.

It used to be common for Koreans to ask and to be asked "Are you married?" "How many children do you have?" "What does your husband do?" or "How old are you?" However, people no longer do not like to be asked those questions. Moreover, people do not care to know what others are doing even in the same office. This kind of attitude can be easily found in middle or high school. Students form their own group and show no interest at all to other groups of classmates including teachers. Often, they pass a year without knowing names of other classmates--a phenomena which was unthinkable in the past.

It seems to me that Korean society is functioned by what Habermas terms "civil privatism."

> Civil privatism means strong interests in the administrative system's output and minor participation in the process of will-formation (high output orientation vs. low-input orientation). Civil privatism thus corresponds to the structures of a depoliticized public. Family and vocational privatism complements civil privatism. It consists of a family orientation with consumer and leisure interests, and of a career orientation consistent with status competition. This privatism thus corresponds to the structures of educational and occupational

systems regulated by competitive performance.[37]

The prevalent practice of "civil privatism" in Korea society means breaking off the traditional group-oriented ways of living.

III. Ideas and Tasks of Adult Education in the Korean Context

If I make a summary of modernity and postmodernity related issues and phenomena, it might be related to the issues of productions and reproductions of lifeworld. The issues of alienation, dominance of instrumental and technical rationality, anomie, and colonization of lifeworld reveal that the condition of our daily life becomes problematic due to the disturbances of lifeworld. The disturbances of lifeworld in the Korean context are related to breaking off the ground for mutual understanding and human relations. When we do not even try to communicate in order to reach understanding and when we do not care about others, how can we work and live together? This break is constitutive to augmenting fragmentation in consciousness, attitude, and values.

Among many things that adult education can do in our time, I believe, adult education ought to play a part in vitalizing lifeworld functions in society through promoting communicative rationality. That is to say, ideas and tasks of adult education ought to be related to upholding cultural production and reproduction, social integration, and personality development.

In securing cultural production and reproduction involving values, ethics, and rationality, ontinuity of tradition and coherence of knowledge are extremely important. Continuity and coherence are the basis for meaning-making. In relation to continuity and coherence, our learning task is how to combine our Korean tradition and modernity or the two ways of living, namely, living by "jung" (which is old Korean style of living) and living by rationality (which is modern and Western style of living). Some conflicts between these two styles of living might bring about a meaning crisis in Korea. Furthermore, this meaning crisis might also be related to motivation and orientation crises. "Hopelessness," a sentiment which is found among younger Korean generations illustrate this problem.

Social integration "takes care of coordinating actions by way of legitimately regulated interpersonal relations and stabilizes the identity of groups to an extent sufficient for everyday practice."[38] The phenomena of "communication break" and "human relations break" have much to do with the issue of social integration. To resolve this matter, our learning task is to learn how to practice communicative rationality in our every day life contexts. Learning to reach understanding each other through validity claims is one important task. Having problems of social integration is connected to the issue of "anomie."

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[37] Jurgen Habermas, Jurgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader ed. Steven Seidman, (Boston, Beacon Press, 1989), 278.

[38] Habermas, The Theory of Communicative Action, Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason, 140.

Socialization is related to personality development. Having a good socialization makes possible for "individual life histories are in harmony with collective forms of life."[39] The problem in socialization and personality development is connected to the issue of "alienation" and psychopatholgy. Our learning task in this matter is how to make a responsible adult. Seeing or experiencing extensive violations in our daily life has led a person to feel, "I am not the only victimizer, the only one who violates. Everybody does it. Why should I be punished? I myself was once victimized." All of us living in Korean society need to learn together what it means to be responsible citizens.

Considering ideas and tasks of adult education from the lifeworld perspective requires different outlook about purposes of adult education programs and the ways of structuring learning experiences and activities. Lifeworld perspective oriented- adult education, in reconstructing the field, enable to overcome consumerism and civil privatism-oriented practice by presenting the ground for mutual understanding and social learning.

Lifeworld perspective-oriented adult education assist creating the environment for co-learning and co-teaching. Through co-learning activities we are learning how to share views together and how to negotiate situations, how to compromise the differences, and how to work together. These learnings involve experiences of opening oneself, making relations, restructuring and reorganizing work, creating and recreating life spaces etc. Quality of life is fundamentally connected to lifeworld production processes. The development of the quality of life, which tend to be perceived to be major purpose of adult and continuing education, means more than increasing convenience in life. When we have a lifeworld which secures dialogical practice, relational interaction, and responsible action, we can expect to create and recreate meaningful, healthy, and joyful lives. I believe that is what quality of life is about.

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[39] Ibid., 141.

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The post-Modern condition: reformulating adult education pedagogy.

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I approach this topic from the point of view of the practitioner who, having had some contact with post modern ideas, through the literature or through enthusiastic colleagues, wishes to develop a tentative posture towards post-modernism and how it can inform adult education practice. My first point of departure then is to pose a series of questions: what is post-modernism? Is it a 'condition' which we all experience? Is it experienced by some but not others? Is it an alternative way of viewing the world? Does it have qualities or elements which are unique? In what way does it impact on adult education--Its core goals and values? Its organization and management? Its pedagogical practices?

Beginning with the nature of post modernism, it is clear that any attempt to 'pin it down' so to speak, will be futile. This is a cause for celebration among post-modernists, because one of their canons is that any attempt to define and categories is neither possible nor desirable. Usher and Edwards (1994) express this sentiment:

> There is a sense, anyhow in which it is impossible to fully define the postmodern since the very attempt to do so confers upon it a status and identity which it must necessarily oppose. In other words, any attempt at definition must lead to paradox since it is to totalise, to provide a single unified explanation of that which sets its face against totalization . . . To talk about postmodernity, postmodrnism or the postmodern is not therefore to designate some fixed and systematic 'thing'. Rather it is to use a loose umbrella term under whose broad cover can be encompassed at one and the same time a condition, a set of practices, a cultural discourse, and attitude, and a mode of analysis. (Usher and Edwards, 1994, p. 7)

What then are some of the elements (contested and tentative as they may be) which can be captured under this loose umbrella with its surprisingly broad cover? I will list them below, but without any attempt to categories or any claim to exhaustiveness.

1. The disintegration of monolithic structures and singular all encompassing views of the world or 'grand narratives' (theoretical, ideological, religious, political, bureaucratic).
2. The problematising (and sometimes rejection) of the rational, the stable and the uniform.
3. The celebration of difference and diversity.

4. The view that knowledge claims are contingent,local and contextual.

5. The rejection of rationality, science and objectivity and the accompanying notions of 'control', 'progress', 'betterment', 'closure' and 'improvement'.

6. A sense of discontinuity, fragmentation and 'borderlessness' (de-differentiation) in institutions.

7. A decentring of the person away from the notion of a coherent 'authentic' self and towards the notion of 'multiple subjectivities', 'multiple lifeworlds' or 'multiple layers' to everyone's identity.

8. The notion that reality is constructed through discourse and practice--which implies a privileging of cultural over economic and political analysis (with the corresponding view that artifice rather than nature is what is to be studied and understood, including artifice in the way knowledge is constructed) .

9. The view that power is not monolithic-there are diverse sources of power, it should be understood as fluid and 'existing as a multiplicity of institutional and psychological forces' (Pietrykowski, 1996, p. 90) .

10. A concern with surface configurations rather than deep structures "The world according to postmodernists is opaque; it is all lived on the surface. There is nothing that hides behind its surface appearances. It is not a case of people saying what they mean--rather they don't mean anything--for there is not any meaning to be had . . . " (Skeggs, 1991, p. 33). This I suspect is associated with the 'playfulness' of postmodernism.

To return to the questions posed at the outset, postmodernism is really a bit of everything--it attempts to describe an historical condition, but its writers are also advocates for this perceived condition--not only is this the way things are, it is also the way things should be. Those of us who cling to outmoded 'modernist' views such as: the striving for an ideal political state, emancipation from systems of power and domination,the pursuit of 'truth' or 'rationality' (or even principles such as those of adult learning), or the individual pursuit of a coherent or 'authentic' identity; are all misguided and morally suspect because we privilege certain views over those of others, don't really acknowledge diversity and difference, and don't really understand how power is exercised through discourse and practice.

Of course the postmodernist view has been contested on a number of grounds: that it leads to nihilism and a politics of despair, that its characteristics are in no way unique, that it underestimates the extent to which people's lives are shaped by economic and political forces, that it exaggerates the ability of individuals to construct their own lives, that the claim about social fragmentation is overstated, and that ultimately it is a view which is politically disabling because it directs people's attention away from collective struggle (Foley, 1993, p. 83). The detractors however do acknowledge the possibility of something worthwhile in postmodern analysis, principally that it highlights 'the complexities and uncertainties of life in the late twentieth century', and how this leads to more subtle and encompassing forms of social control (Foley, 1993, p. 81).

To the question of the impact of postmodernism on adult education--our assessment will very much depend on whether we take the postmodern 'condition' to be given and then trace the extent to which adult education has accommodated to this condition or is symptomatic of it; or whether we trace the impact of postmodern theorising on theorising about adult education; or whether we explore, in a hypothetical way, the kind of adult education implied by a postmodern approach. At least one author (Bagnall, 1994) has adopted the last of these possibilities. Following an analysis of the concepts of 'modern' and 'postmodern' sets out the features of adult education programming which are sensitive to the postmodern. These features, or tendencies, are outlined below:

1. A rejection of centralised planning, systematisation, outcomes--based education, goal based evaluation, or indeed any pre-planning.
2. Uncertainty, indefinability, and unpredictability in the location of authority over and responsibility for educational decisions.
3. An adult education that is spontaneously responsive to and reflective of the non - cognitive, emotive interests, inclinations and preferences of its participants.
4. Participation of learners through both involvement and control of the learning process.
5. Adult education programming away form the conventional, the traditional and the orthodox--more variability but also more ephemeral and particular.
6. An emphasis on the intrinsic value of the learning and learning process rather than its outcome.
7. A view of knowledge and meaning which is constantly open to reinterpretation, deconstruction, and revision. There would be no uncontested or even consensual curriculum or standards which guide, constrain or structure.
8. Adult education would not exist as an entity in its own right, it would be diffused throughout the institutions in society (i.e. de-differentiated).

Bagnall, in line with other critics, paints a gloomy picture of postmodern adult education:

> A strongly postmodern field of adult education practice would, indeed, be wanting in any common perception of the ideal nature of adult education:of the visions sustaining it, the goals towards which it is directed, and the principles constraining and restraining the pursuit of those goals . . . The field may thus be seen as substantially wanting in any common social or political vision, hope, direction or purpose beyond ego satisfaction (Bagnall, 1994, pp. 15-16).

Bagnall focuses mainly on the project of adult education and how it is organized and delivered. But how would the postmodern impact on the everyday concerns of adult educators? I will approach this question through analysing three fundamental and persistent concerns evident in the literature of adult education pedagogy: the notion of autonomy and self direction, the use of experience for learning, and the nature of the teacher-learner relationship.

Autonomy and self direction

The idea of autonomous or self-directed learning is firmly entrenched in contemporary thinking about adult education, and there has been a great deal of scholarly interest in the subject. There are now a variety of meanings attached to the term 'autonomy', particularly the dimensions along which autonomy is exercised. Given the nature of our society and the socialization process, what are the limits of personal autonomy? Is it desirable to point to personal autonomy as an ideal outcome of education and development?

The postmodern view of the self as socially constituted imposes a limit on the capacity for personal autonomy. Usher (1992) quite rightly draws our attention to how adult education supported by the discipline of psychology, constructs the adult learner as an active meaning giving subject, who through self consciousness, is both the source and shaper of its experience.

> The humanistic theorization of subjectivity posits an essential inner core--a true self unique to each individual, which is permanent, coherent and known to the individual. This true self may not always manifest itself fully because of the influence of psychological and social inhibitions which temporarily distort it and impede its full realization. Yet, despite these vicissitudes, the true self is always there and always present to itself. As a rational, unified center it can experience the world, including itself, and construct knowledge about the world and itself.

He is referring here to the 'individualism' which, he claims, pervades thinking in humanistic adult education. The core ideas in the ethic of individualism are described by Lukes (1973). Firstly there is the belief in the supreme value and dignity of the individual. Secondly there is the idea of the individual being independent and autonomous, one's thoughts and actions not being determined by external agencies. Finally there is the idea of self development, with the onus placed on the individual to develop his or her talents to the fullest. This is a fair description of the ethic which has informed much of the adult education literature. But there is a growing opposition to this view, one which, in its extreme form, portrays the individual as merely an expression of distorting ideologies and oppressive social structures. Usher is mindful of this reaction, and warns that it is equally mistaken to adopt an over-socialised and over-determined view of the person:

> critical pedagogy . . . constructs another kind of subject, the exploited subject of 'false consciousness' whose experience is rendered inauthentic by distorting ideology and oppressive social structures . . . As a consequence it tends to deprive subjects of agency by making them social victims. (1992, p. 203)

Thus he describes the two poles of the individual--social dialectic, the psychological/humanistic pole which stresses the agency of the subject, and the sociological pole which stresses how the subject is wholly determined. The dilemma for the adult educator is that neither pole offers a satisfactory perspective on practice, the former seems too naive in failing to acknowledge the power of social forces, and the latter is too pessimistic and leaves no scope for education to have a meaningful role, and there is certainly no role for the autonomous learner. Usher offers a way out of this dilemma, he urges us to embrace a post-modern perspective, and through it, a new engagement with the humanistic tradition. By a post-modern perspective Usher means a focussing on laguage, text and discourse as the means through which we analyse and understand our experiences and thereby construct ourselves.

> We can only be the agents of our experience by engaging in a hermeneutic dialogue with the confused and often contradictory text of our experience of the world and of ourselves. The dialogue is one where formation in intersubjectivity and language, location in discourses and practical involvement in the world is a condition for the achievement of autonomy rather than a barrier to its discovery

> language, for example, does not merely constrain subjectivity but offers the possibility for constructing a critical self and social awareness through which subjectivity can be changed. (1992, p. 210)

Thus it is not the true or authentic self which is discovered through reflection on experience, instead experience is viewed as a text which can be re-interpreted and re-assessed. In effect we learn to read the text into which our self has been inscribed, and we discover that there are alternative readings and therefore an alternative self to be constructed. This doesn't mean we can ascribe any meaning to our experiences or that we can create any self we choose. We need to give a plausible reading to our experience, one which can legitimately contest, say, dominant meanings. Also the self remains situated in history and culture and continually open to re-inscription and re-formulation. The autonomous self is thus neither an end state or something which stands outside history and culture. The autonomous self recognises its situatedness and the limits and possibilities of re-interpretation and re-formation.

Although individuals cannot transcend or eradicate their historical and cultural situatedness (and neither should they, necessarily), there is nevertheless room to manoeuvre in the continuing interplay of self and others--and it is in this space that autonomy resides. From the perspective of one who is interested in the development of identity across the lifespan, as I am, postmodern views of how identity, or the `self', is shaped are quite appealing because they offer an explanation of how social struters become embedded in individual identity, while at the same time pointing to the potential for psychological resistence.

Adult teacher learner relationship

The adult education literature has placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of establishing an appropriate 'adult' teacher-learner relationship. Because teachers and learners are adult peers there is a widely held view that the relationship between teachers and adult learners should be participative and democratic and characterised by openness, mutual respect and equality. To be sure a relationship like this is desirable in all levels of education, but the political and social position of children presents a constraint which is not apparent in the adult context. Adults who are learners in one context (or moment) may become teachers in another (in postmodern terms there is de-differentiation). In many instances teachers of adults are the subordinates of their learners in the larger organisational or professional context. This role flexibility, and even ambiguity, in adult teaching and learning, is not a feature of school based education. An ideal 'adult' teacher-learner relationship is not something which emerges naturally from an adult teaching and learning situation. Issues of dominance, dependency and control are as urgent in adult education as they are in school based education.

What is the ideal 'adult' teacher-learner relationship? As a first step in approaching this question it is useful to analyse how power should be distributed between the teacher and the learners and among learners. Who should determine when, where, how and what will be learned? What special status, and privileges, if any, should be accorded the teacher? Whose interests are served by a particular kind of teacher-learner relationship? What are the control and facilitative functions of the teacher? There is thus a tension between the power of the teacher and the power of the learners.

Freire's writings typify a primary concern with the politics of the teacher -learner relationship. In 'liberating' or 'problem-posing education, he writes, "the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the one who teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow" (1972, p. 53). Interestingly enough similar sentiments were expressed earlier this century by one of the founding fathers of liberal adult education, Mansbridge, who, in a publication in a 1910 publication entitled 'University Tutorial classes', maintained that the teacher of adults should be in real fact a fellow student, and the fellow students are teachers (Alfred, 1987).

These views are contrasted with their opposite, with what Freire refers to as the 'banking' concept of education which mirrors oppressive society as a whole. Raul Anorve, a community educator who works with Mexican groups in Southern California, summarises Freire's distinction between the 'banking' approach and the 'problem-posing' approach (1988-Literacy for empowerment: a resource handbook for community based educators). In the banking approach:

1. the teacher determines the goals
2. the teacher is knowledgeable and the students are ignorant
3. the teacher imparts knowledge and skill and the students receive it
4. the teacher talks and the students listen
5. the students store the knowledge and skills for future use
6. the teacher directs the class sessions and the students comply
7. the education process perpetuates the status quo

By contrast, in the problem-posing approach:

1. the learners determine the goals
2. the facilitator and learners all have useful knowledge and skills
3. the learners soon apply the knowledge and skills in the pursuit of their goals
4. the facilitator and learners discuss issues
5. the facilitator and learners jointly decide the direction of class sessions
6. the education process helps create new realities

Freire developed his ideas in the context of educating illiterate peasants in Brazil in the 1960s. Anorve uses a Freirian in his work with Mexican migrants in the 1990s. They both have in common the desire to release the potential of education as a means by which domination and oppression can be thwarted. Myles Horton, working independently in the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee advocated a similar approach in his work with labour unions in the 1930's and 1940s and in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s:

We realised it was necessary to learn how to learn from these people, so we started with the practical, with the things that were, and we moved from there to test our theories and our ways of thinking . . . we learned we had to take what people perceive their problems to be, not what we perceive their problems to be. We had to learn how to find out about the people, and then take that and put it into a program. (Horton, 1990, p. 140)

At Highlander everyone sits around in a circle, which symbolises equality among all participants. Over the years more and more rocking chairs were introduced, so that now all chairs in the circle are rocking chairs, which seems to add to the poignancy of the learning circle idea. Horton too was concerned with education, and follow-up action, as a means or fostering a more democratic society, and so naturally he was concerned with distributing power among the learners. This should not be taken to mean that the teacher is neutral, far from it "We also claimed no neutrality in presenting facts and ideas. What we sought was to set people's thinking apparatus in motion, while at the same time trying to teach and practice brotherhood and democracy" (1990, p. 152).

It is clear that power should be distributed evenly in community education, especially where there are strong common bonds and collective desire to act to bring about social justice. A community educator like Myles Horton did in fact exercise strong leadership and was very purposeful in pursuing his agenda. Thus although there are strong postmodernist tendencies in the approaches of Freire and Horton, in the sense that the processes used are open ended, uncertain, or may surprise or thwart the expectations of the educator as alternative readings of situations are explored; ultimately, as Pietrykowski observes, they privilege 'readings and renderings which have as their goal the emancipation or liberation of the oppressed' (1996, p. 89). While the humanistic approach to the adult teacher-learner relationship may be criticised for its neutrality, the postmodern approach is open to the charge of indifference in the sense that it is not prepared to `privilege' any particular position.

Learning from experience

The importance and centrality of experience as a foundation for adult education practice is widely accepted. Community adult educators such as Myles Horton believe very strongly in using lived (rather than created) experience as the primary source for learning. This seems to be a general feature of education which has as its goal social justice and/or personal transformation. But it is increasingly becoming a feature of continuing professional education as well (which may also include personal transformation within its scope) and it is increasingly being incorporated into higher education. Kolb (1984), for example, points to some trends in higher education which have prompted the idea that the experiences of learners should be acknowledged. Firstly, there are a growing number of non-traditional students in higher education for whom formal academic approaches are inappropriate. They have, it is argued, a more 'street wise' practical approach to learning, and experiential methods allow them to capitalise on their practical experience. Secondly, the advent of the mature-age student in higher education has resulted in a scrutiny of ideas and knowledge in terms of accumulated life experiences and not solely in terms of conceptual clarity, internal consistency, fit with experimental observation, and other academic criteria. Thirdly, the movement towards vocationalism in higher education has been accompanied by a demand for stronger links between education and work and experiential learning methods help to address this demand. Finally there is pressure for higher education institutions to develop strategies for assessing prior work and life experiences for the purpose of granting academic credit or certification.

This approach to learning from experience can be stated quite simply. The first task is get people to talk about their experiences. The second task is to analyse those experiences individually or collectively. The third task is to identify and act on the implications of what is revealed. This basic framework has spawned a number of approaches which are now well documented.

Brookfield (1991, p. 177), for example, regards critical reflection as the key to learning from experience. This entails three phases:

1. The identification of the assumptions that underlie thoughts and actions.
2. The scrutiny of the accuracy and validity of these assumptions in terms of how they connect to experience.
3. The reconstituting of these assumptions to make them more inclusive and integrative.

It is the recognition and analysis of assumptions which is the key to critical reflection. In the critical incident approach ". . . learners are asked to produce richly detailed accounts of specific events and then move to a collaborative, inductive analysis of general elements embedded in these particular description" (1991, p. 181). Brookfield describes three examples of critical incident exercises he has devised. They all follow the same pattern: the participants are asked to describe a concrete event that has triggered an emotional response--they are guided in describing this event (when, where, who was involved? etc). Then follows further guidance on how to proceed, which is standardised for all three exercises:

> Now, find two other participants to form a group of three. In this triad, each person will take a turn reading aloud his or her description. After you have read out your description, your two colleagues will try to identify the assumptions about good educational practice that they think are embedded in your description. You, in turn, will do the same for each of your colleagues. To help you identify assumptions, it might be helpful to think of them as the rules of thumb that underlie and inform our actions. In this exercise, they are the general beliefs, commonsense ideas, or intuitions that you and your colleagues hold about teaching.
> Your analysis of assumptions should initially be on two levels: (1) What assumptions do you think inform your colleagues' choices of significant incidents--what do their choices say about their value systems? (2) What assumptions underlie the specific actions they took in the incidents described?
> After your description has been analysed by your two colleagues, you have the opportunity to comment on what you see as the accuracy and validity of their insights. Do you think they have gauged accurately the assumptions you hold? Were you surprised by their analyses? Or did the assumptions they identify confirm how you see your own practice? They, in turn, will have the chance to comment on the accuracy and validity of your assessments of their assumptions.

It is also interesting to look for commonalities and differences in the assumptions

> you each identify. If there are commonly held assumptions, do they represent what passes for conventional wisdom in your field of practice? If there are major differences, to what extent might these signify divergent views in the field at large? Or might the differences be the result of contextual variations? (1991, pp. 182-183)

This exercise concludes with a group analysis of assumptions. The general features of the exercise are that:

1. The focus is on the learners' experiences (those which are emotionally significant)
2. Learners work from the specific to the general
3. There is an emphasis on peer learning
4. Assumptions that comprise conventional wisdom are analysed
5. There is a de-briefing of the form and focus of the exercise

It is useful to compare and contrast these general features with the principles identified by Hart (1991) in her companion article on 'Liberation through consciousness raising':

1. Acknowledge the existence of power and oppression
2. Use personal experience as the original source to be critically reflected upon
3. The group should have a commonality of experience and assumptions
4. There should be equality among all participants in the group
5. There is a need to gain and sustain a theoretical distance

Although her purpose is more clearly targeted towards women as an oppressed group (an she warns against applying such principles without regard to context), there are some commonalities with Brookfield in the principles she espouses. Firstly they both regard personal experience as the source of learning, secondly, they are both commened with unmasking power relations and how they operate (this is implicit in Brookfield's requirement to analyse the assumptions of conventional wisdom), thirdly, they are both concerned with moving beyond the specific experiences of individual participants to the construction of more general concepts, ideas or theories which link these experiences within and beyond the group (i.e. Hart's 'theoretical distance'), finally they have in common peer reflection and critique and an implied or explicit equality among those peers.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the above approaches (and others like them) is that there is a clear requirement to move beyond the exploration of personal meaning. Thus the attribution of meaning to experience cannot simply be a personal, unique and private enterprise conducted without reference to existing bodies of knowledge or the experiences of others. This point, of course, was well made by Dewey (1963) in his discussion of the relation between objective and subjective knowledge. For him knowledge is the product of an interaction between the experiencing subject and the external objective world. Reference has previously been made to Usher's view that the self, or one's 'subjectivity', is the product of social forces and is thus not fixed, rational and always present to itself:

> ". . . Meanings, and therefore the meaning of experience, is not guaranteed by subjectivity because the latter is itself constituted in language. This implies that although experience belongs to us as individual subjects, we are not the authors of the meaning of our experience" (1989, p. 29).

The approaches to critical reflection described above acknowledge that we are not the sole 'authors' of the meaning of our experience. On the other hand, although the meanings one attributes to experience are influenced by language, history and culture, they are not wholly determined, or, more to the point, they are not permanently fixed. Language, history and culture can themselves become the object of critical enquiry. This is precisely the strategy adopted by those adult educators who, first and foremost, aim to challenge the meanings attributed to experiences among the groups with which they work.

The idea of learning from experience certainly contains postmodern tendencies especially if learners are seen as the principal producers of knowledge through immersion in practice. If this were the case then knowledge would indeed be local and particular rather than global and universal. Also the postmodern educator is also very much like the facilitator of critical reflection: "the role (of the intellectual) shifts from one of confident educator, who possesses confidence in his(sic) judgement of taste and the need to mould society in terms of it, to that of the commentator, who represents and decodes the minutiae of cultural objects and traditions without judging them or hierarchizing them" (Featherstone, 1991, cited in Usher and Edwards, 1994, p. 199). Thus there is a shift away from the learners,who individually or communally reflect on their experences, to the teacher as commentator or decoder. But the crucial phrase is 'without judging them', and without that condition, the postmodern tendency evaporates.

Concluding comment

Elements of the postmodern condition are certainly present in adult education pedagogy; the decentring of the teacher, learners reflecting on and deconstructing their experiences, the exploration of alternative readings of experience, the contested nature of knowledge, greater learner control of the processes and aims of learning, the breakdown of the leacher-learner dichotomy, more open-ended curricula and pedagogical practices, the recognition of the power of discourse to shape people's lives, the recognition of diversity among students, and the acknowledgment that knowledge is generated through experiences at work, in the family and in community life. It is also evident that the boundaries between the sectors of education are breaking down; particularly between formal and non -formal education and between education delivered at different sites and locations. There is no doubt that what constitutes knowledge is being contested and reframed by our educational institutions. What is unclear is whether postmodenism is the best way to describe these ideas and practices, especially given that educational values and goals, social and political visions, frameworks of belief, hopes, directions and communal and individual aspirations continue to motivate actions, not simply play or the satisfaction of desire.

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West in East and vice versa, or globalization in adult education

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1.

The theme of this conference is modernist and postmodernist renderings in adult education. The question assigned to me is what can East and West learn from each other in terms of their views of education, adult education in particular.

I consider it to be profitable to map out the question itself, complicated as it is, prior to contemplating an answer. I should, first, note the underlying assumption that there are certain modernist and postmodernist positions, which differ from each other and bear differently upon education. There is another assumption, this time, about two worlds, East and West, that they exist distinctly, operate separately, and embrace differing views of education. Finally, there is the third assumption that the two worlds, or the inhabitants of the two worlds, can enter into some kind of transaction, some constitutive interplay, to exchange some of their educational views to each others benefit. I should, however, point out that none of these assumptions is indisputable. While some may take it for granted that the postmodernist position differs from the modernist one, others may still doubt why and how it does so. East and West are not unequivocal terms, either. The meaning of West may well be stable with Europe or the world of Caucasians at its heart. East is not so, however. What, then, shall I mean by these terms, what educational views shall I associate with them, and how shall I determine the accounts rendered them by modernist and postmodernist discourses? The question of what East and West can learn from each other in terms of their educational views can be considered only when these doubts are cleared up.

2.

When I brought up doubts about why and how the two positions are different I did not mean that it is inappropriate to talk about something or anything that is new to what we normally characterise as modern or modernist. The point I bore in mind was simply that while the world which invented what is called modernism has obviously undergone significant changes, new postmodernist talks do not seem to supply a common view as to such changes. There are many such talks, running through varied veins while commonly taking place, as Lyotard points out, in relation to modernism (Reijen and Veerman 1988: 276). Setting distinction between the two positions is not a simple job, nor is it my concern here. For my discussion, I only intend to single out a useful theme for which some writers seem to pose to be postmodernist.

This theme is about a trend typically represented in what Habermas (1981: 8) calls the project of modernity--an incomplete project, though, as he assesses it. This project was initiated by the Enlightenment thinkers in the 18th century. And its essence consisted in the efforts to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art according to their inner logic. It was intended to release the cognitive potentials of each of these domains to set them free from esoteric forms, and utilise what was thus acquired for enrichment of social life by its rational organisation--for emancipation from want, scarcity and natural calamity, as well as from religion, superstition and the arbitrary use of power. The underlying assumption of the project was, Harvey (1992: 27) notes, that there was only one possible answer to any question. From this, the Enlightenment modernists concluded that the world could be controlled and rationally ordered if we could only picture and represent it rightly. This conclusion was shared in diverse ways by the writers of the subsequent generations, who sought for such right pictures or representations and formulated universally valid knowledge, moral and legal principles and broad interpretative schemes (Ibid.: 45). They thus entailed a great deal of progress in life--the explosion of commodification, mechanisation, technology, exchange and the market (Kellner 1988: 240-2), let alone political and other reforms and revolutions.

Postmodernist writers seem to be troubled by modernisms totalising tendency of dealing with diverse matters in reference to such universally valid knowledge, principles, and so on. In Foucaults (1980) analysis, for instance, there is always gap between thinkable structures and unthinkable events. These events may well occur in connection with each other, or one engendering another. Among themselves, however, they form various networks and levels to complicate and variegate their mutual relationships. So much so that attempts to grasp them in universally applicable simple models of language are likely to end up unsuccessfully. When a set of propositions, such as scientific knowledge, claims objectivity and universal validity, therefore, it is likely to do so due to its conformity to a certain regime governing discourses, rather than due to its correspondence to the universal truth if there is any truth. Formulation of propositional knowledge--scientific knowledge par excellence--is not really a matter of representing such truthin language. It can be, rather, a matter of what governs statements and the way in which the governing entities govern each other so as to constitute a set of propositions which are scientifically acceptable, and hence capable of being verified or falsified by scientific procedures. The essence of modern propositional knowledge, then, may not be the objective and universally valid truth it claims to contain but the politics of scientific statement (Ibid.: 112), or the power that controls scientific statement.

Lyotard (1984), as well, makes another sceptical observation of modern scientific knowledges universal validity. In his observation, science is basically a language game. And the rules of this game shift from one set to another. What is called modern science, therefore, is not viable invariably. It is merely a game played according to a specific set of rules. Modern science as such a game is what legitimates itself with reference to its own rules, or by virtue of a certain metadiscourse, another discourse hiding behind a discourse, which is, as Foucault characterises it, opaque unlike uttered transparent discourses.

Given such sceptical views, the important point to note in the modernist approach is the power vested in the universal validity of modern knowledge which comes into play when such knowledge is applied to organising life on various sites of material production, politics, education,and so on. On the positive side, as the modernists desired, the power may well emancipate individuals from traditional oppressive ties and ensure for them material ease, as Foucault (1980: 119) points out, by setting up a productive network which runs through the whole social body. On the negative side, however, it subjugates the individuals to the meticulous, relentless and ruthless control of totalising modernist discourses. This is, no doubt, another oppressive condition--the condition of T S Eliots hollow man, perhaps.

An important issue on the postmodernist agenda and possibly significant element in the postmodern condition, then, should be emancipation from the domination of the totalising modernist culture--knowledge, principles, broad interpretative schemes. Foucaults advice for this is to break open the closed circuit of modernist discourses and to intervene in the processes of knowledge production in order thus to restore in scientific and other discourses the human qualities of openness. At each localised site of oppression--the prison, the asylum, the school, the hospital--he expects numerous and multifaceted discourses to upsurge challenging the dominant power/knowledge and cancel out much of its harmful effects. Similarly, Lyotard as well emphasises the flexibility of utterances and argue for the emergence of numerous, mutually differentiated language games to give rise to institutions in patches or a state of local determinism.

A postmodern condition, in these views, will differ from the modern condition in its flexibility and multiplicity of discourses, plurality of solutions, decentralised and heterogeneouslocals of autonomy, plurality of rationalities--in short, its becoming a world of deconstruction.

3.

Having said this much about modernism and postmodernism, let me turn to the second assumption. Do East and West exist as two distinct worlds, separately operating and embracing differing views of education? It is important to note that the worlds at issue, namely, Europe on one side and East Asia --China, Korea and Japan--on the other as often contrasted in this neighbourhood of the globe, have not been viewing each other in the same light. As I A Richards (1932: xiv) once pointed out, the modern West has been taking itself to be the world. The rest, for it, consisted of lands of insignificance resided by heathens, or barbarians and savages, remote from modern civilisation. As to the distinction between the West as the centre and its non-Western peripheries, Said (1993: 108-10) observes, the geographical and cultural boundaries were considered absolute. Beyond the boundaries, Europeans were amazingly indifferent. Then, modernism on its scientific flank, facilitated by the development of ethnography, began to turn such indifference to codification of differences and the weaving of such differences into various evolutionary schemes going from primitive to subject races, and finally to superior or civilized peoples. This totalising movement led to what Said calls imperial domination by the modern Europe of the premodern peripheries not only by means of direct domination and physical force but, more importantly, by persuasive means of exporting universally valid knowledge, principles, and so on. The effect of the latter were, in Said's own words, the quotidian processes of hegemony--very often creative, inventive, interesting, and above all executive--[which] yield surprisingly well to analysis and elucidation. Consequently, the peripheries underwent the cultural and ecological transformations called modernisation. To the modernist Europeans, East Asia was no exception. It too was nondescript, indistinct, insignificant--far from the stage of modern civilisation. John Buchan expressed this view typically when he called China an incoherent power and unorganized intelligence . . . millions of quick brains stifled in trumpery crafts . . . [with] no direction, no driving power (cited in Said 1979: 251).

East Asians, on the other hand, have never viewed Europe as their periphery since the second half of the 19th century when they first encountered the internationalising Europeancapitalism which was soon to be dubbed imperialism. The Eastern word soyang (pronounced so in Korean but xiyang in Chinese and seiyo in Japanese, and meaning the West Ocean) was invented around this time most likely by Japans rangaku scholars. Their invention of this word, and its counterpart, dongyang (pronounced so in Korean and similarly in Chinese but toyo in Japanese, and meaning the East Ocean), seems to reflect their concerns about coping with the influential West. To note here is that East and West are grasped as two opposite oceans rather than two extremes of the continent which actually adjoined the two worlds. The West Ocean is reachable by ship, not on land. It is, therefore, not meant to be the premodern Europe with which East Asians have had occasional contact, in effect, exercising significant influences, but the modern Europe from which hakurai (meaning literally ship-brought and practically modern, of superior quality) knowledge, principles, goods, and so on, originated. Note now that the East Ocean is juxtaposed alongside the West Ocean to imply that both share, or ought to share, an equal status. The coining of the two new words clearly exhibits Easterners development of an identity and a self-assertive position in relation to Westerners. This self-identifying andself-assertive response presupposes an uneasiness, a fear, in dealing with the modern West.1 This fear is well documented by Yukichi Fukuzawa (1969: 21), himself an eminent rangaku scholar who coined in Chinese characters many new words in order to accommodate European terminology. In the early 1870s, he agreed with many of his contemporaries that the question of Japans independence in the modern world was unavoidable.

In response to the West, Easterners seem to follow two contradictory yet incredibly coexistent threads of talk. In one such thread, they succumb to what Said calls the persuasive means of cultural imperialism by actively accommodating the rational and wonderfully efficientmode of modernist discourses. We may name this thread emulative in the sense it helps narrow the gap between the two polarised worlds by copying as closely as possible the Wests discursive mode. Fukuzawa (Ibid.: 22) followed mainly this thread. Judging from Japans present situation, he writes, we have not yet reached the level of the West in the areas of scholarship, business, and law. But, he goes on to point out, modern civilization is chiefly built upon the foundation of these three areas of endeavour. Without sufficient progress in these three areas, anations independence can clearly not be maintained. Notably, Japans withstanding Western encroachment is here argued for in reference to the goals to get at, which apparently indicate modern science in scholarship, capitalism in the economy, and government by law. That government by law here is considered in a rational, liberal democratic vein is clear in Fukuzawas subsequent argument for national independence through personal independence, and criticism of the despotic rule which since time immemorial did not permit freedom of expression.

In another thread, they adhere to what is deemed Eastern in opposition to what is Western. A glaring example of this oppositional thread is seen in the donghak thought. Choi Je Wu advanced this thought in the early 1860s by putting together what he deemed to be the essentials of Eastern teachings--Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism--with which to resist Western influences (sohak). Armed with such essentially Eastern teachings indeed his followers later on stood up to launch what historians now regard as the beginning of Koreas anti-imperialist movement. The oppositional thread--which unfortunately does not attract sufficient light in Saids study of cultural imperialism in the Oriental context--cuts across East Asians discourses. I do not mean just those eccentrics who wish to believe, or make believe, what is Eastern is superior to what is Western, such as the militarist aesthetes who insisted on the supremacy of the Japanese beauty and the young Red Guards who proclaimed the East Winds imminent subduing of the West Wind. What is equally significant is the employment of the modernist mode of discourse for the purpose of buttressing self-esteem and self-assertion. Consider the claim advanced by archaeologists in the country of scientific socialism to the retrieval of King Tanguns (and his wifes) 5,000-year-old skeletons in a near perfect shape. In South Korea as well, historians of Ancient Korea have been stretching the evidential power of the archaeological dugouts in their hands until they secured an immense territory for their remote ancestors. In these exemplar cases, the modernist language of science is used to codify remains of the past, valorise them as evidence, and construct out of them a tradition or an identity, intensive or extensive, of which the East Asians can be proud.

By the East, we should refer to the identity, the culture, which East Asians formulate and reformulate along such threads of talk in eking out a viable relationship with the West.2 To mean by this term the culture of the past, that is, the thoughts, ideas, customs and traditions of the previous inhabitants of this world, is to refer it to what it has not much to do with. Such thoughts, ideas, and so on, were created by those who did not know about the West and, therefore, did not operate in relation to the latter. The educational views of the two worlds should also be considered in the same light. Where the East defines itself in relation to the West and has already undergone a great deal of West-triggered modernising processes, it is simply inappropriate to grasp its educational view merely in terms of the past inhabitants ideas about education. None of such ideas can remain intact in the modernising processes. The East has repeatedly processed anew native educational ideas and practices in emulative and oppositional responses to what is on the West's modernist educational agenda, such as public education, freedom of learning, equal opportunity, efficiency, and rights. The conclusions it has been drawing from such prismatic (Riggs 1964) processings may well exhibit overall Western features, yet the latter are never the same as those ideas of the West. They may also contain lingering traditional elements. The latter, however, are quite different from what existed before the Wests cultural invasion.

4.

What, then, does postmodernism have to do with the East-West relationship? I should be committing the same modernist sin of totalising if I attempt to unreservedly apply to the East postmodernist themes. Such an attempt will not generate any such ideas as to deserve the brand of postmodernism, for here again we will see unidirectional cultural flows (see, for instance, Stauffer 1979) from the modern centre to the premodern periphery with the force of universal validity. In order to determine postmodernist renderings to the East-West relationship, distinct from the modernist one, we need some new approach, new postulation, in which the West is a taker not just the giver and the East a giver while remaining the taker, each on its own account. Such a give-and-take relationship is in fact what the third assumption is about, in terms of adult education. How do we obtain such a postulation, however?

Paradoxically, I think we can obtain this postulation in the modernist context itself. Consider this. There is a reservoir with two compartments in it, each containing a unique liquid substance. Pump the liquid substance of a compartment into the other compartment. Initially, the compartment on the giving end will maintain the purity of its content while the receiving compartment will change its content to something which it did not have originally. As the second compartment gets filled up, however, the mixed liquid in it will overflow back into the giving compartment and disrupt the makeup of the latters content. Eventually, the contents of the two compartments will become increasingly homogeneous although you are, all the while, pumping the first compartments liquid into the second compartment. Were the liquid substances cultures, it would be possible to draw from this imaginary experiment two interesting conclusions: first, that unidirectional cultural flow invites reverse flow and, second, that, as the reverse flow occurs, reciprocity of relationship sets in between the giving and receiving cultures to initiate what might be called cultural globalisation.3

Honestly, I am not sure how neatly these conclusions will lay down postmodernist renderings on the East-West relationship. Cultural globalisation obtained above does not logically imply discontinuity from modernism. The centres dominant culture will continue to flow to the periphery with the force of universal validity. And the culture flowing back from the periphery will contain many modernist elements originating from the centre. Therefore, cultural globalisation in light of our imaginary experiment can be seen as modernisation on the global dimension or as cultural imperialisms global hegemony, rather than realisation of a post-modern condition.

In spite of such doubts, however, I find a few positive reasons for employing the conclusions from our imaginary experiment for exploring a possible mode of East-West cultural transaction which somewhat differs from the modernist mode. First, although the centre will continue to unidirectionally transfer its universally valid cultural content to the peripheries, its totalising force will diminish when the latters changing cultures start reverse flow. As in the Easts case, these cultures contain elements serving oppositional purposes. When they get mixed with the centres dominant culture, the discursive environment of the centre will be impaired. The totalising force laden on the centres original culture in the name of universal validity will thus be challenged. The more peripheral cultures flow back from various directions, the more seriously will the centres culture lose its totalising force. Meanwhile, both in the centre and in the peripheries, numerous non-dominant cultures will become increasingly visible. Such a state will be quite similar to what is suggested by postmodernist writers, namely, a state of flexibility and multiplicity of discourses, plurality of solutions, and so on.

Discourses on the recent development of capitalism, especially on the phenomenon of multinational business operation, seem to offer additional reasons. The crucial point in that phenomenon is what Harvey (1992: 141-72) calls flexible accumulation, for which capital abandons the large-scale Fordist plant in the industrial centre. Instead, it breaks itself into small,

flexible and mobile entities, which in turn flow to wherever the environment is favourable. The results are internationalisation of production (Hoogvelt 1987) and decentralisation of the world economy. Mandel (1968, 1975, 1995)
takes such changes to be features of late capItalism, in which both capitalism and contradictions of capitalism spread world-wide, thus preparing the world revolution Trotzky predicted. As to their impact upon the West, Offe (1985) draws attention to disorganised capitalism and the workers deprived of their jobs. In the East, on the other hand, numerous writers have noted Japans emergence from the periphery as a new industrial centre and also the fact that Japans capital is flowing out to its own peripheries (for an interesting account, see Oe 1982), thus destabilising its bubble economy. Similar phenomena are now observed also in South Korea and other Little Dragons. Although each of these discourses are advanced in its unique context--and regardless of what I would like to say here--they as a whole suggest that the borderlines between the centre and the peripheries, and between East and West, become thinner.

Will the changing configuration of the world economy have a cultural impact? Friedman (1988: 453) observes that the changes in the world economy provides the [postmodern] material logic within which the worlds cultural logics find their variable expressions. He goes on to write, While modernism declines in the West giving rise to a myriad expression of ethnicities, religious cults, and various traditionalisms, there is an apparent rise of an Eastern variant of modernism in Southeast Asia, one of its forms being neo-Confucianism. If he is right, may we not say that the West will become increasingly susceptible to the cultural overflows from the East, and that the latter will undergo intensified modernising processes? May we not also say that through such processes, the East will continue its emulative and oppositional discourses and split its population into sectors, some of which gradually effacing the borderline between East and West while some others try to keep it distinct by hanging on to elements of the traditional culture but, nevertheless, continuously diluting them with modern elements?

If you agree, for these reasons, to conveniently label the economic and cultural configurations thus obtained postmodernist, I think I can conclude this section by stating that postmodernist renderings are, for the East, modernisation and resistance on various cultural fronts, and, for the West, the collapse of the modernist hegemony and susceptibility to the Easts peripheral cultures. What East and West can give and take, then, is apparent, for what else can they do than accept such changes? I am, nevertheless, not sure whether I can take the consequences to be to each others benefit, for globalisation in itself is neither good nor bad.

5.

Viewed in this light, then, what can East and West learn from each other in relation to their views of education, adult education in particular? Education has one purpose, be it for mature persons or children. This purpose is to benefit living, individual or collective. And for living, the most important concern is the changes that occur to the environment of daily operation. The very fact that modernist and postmodernist discourses analyse, interpret and regulate the environment of living--discursive or material--implies the tremendous effect which such discourses apply to our life. Therefore, if education, adult education in particular, is to serve its purpose, educators cannot ignore such changes. If the changes are like what I clarified above, I may say what follows.

For the East, since the modernising processes will continue with even a greater intensity it will be necessary that students--adults or non-adults--be prepared to cope with new changes. In going through such changes, the most important problem Easterners will have to deal with will be what Friedman (Ibid.: 452) takes to be a critical prerequisite for the establishment of the modernist identity and, in fact, what was the most serious concern of such critics of modernisation as Marx, namely, the individualisation of society. The premodern structures of social life will further disintegrate. Pathetic symptoms of the individualised society are already erupting, notably, the alienated, reified atoms who seek personal interest at each others expense and the gullible political animals whose immediate interest hampers democratic political processes. In order to accommodate changes to a healthy modern, and pretty soon post-modern, identity, it will be necessary to educate the new-born individuals to self-governing, responsible members of society who understand that their freedom is granted so long as they do not harm others and that happiness requires more than immediate gains. This was J S Mills principal concern when he grappled with the modernist spirit of [his] age. For Eastern adult educators, Mills concern will be valid, more significantly than making any totalising effort to turn learners to instruments for competition on the globalising market. For this, they can learn lessons from Westerners experiences, as well as from Easterners own oppositional responses to Western influences.

For the West, the Easts experiences may throw useful insights for solving its own problems. The depleting authority of the totalising modernist logic is obvious in the West. In fact, many Westerners have borrowed elements of Eastern cultures and incorporated them into their oppositional voices to the modernist logic. Remember the trendy practices in the rebellious 60s of Zen Buddhism, Yoga and even Daoist sexual techniques. Recently, gurus of Eastern medicinal practices, such as herbal treatment, acupuncture, shiatsu, and so on, are drawing audience from those seeking alternative medicine. Such Eastern marshall arts as taekwondo, karate, judo and kungfu are now becoming established sports on their own rights, codified and regulated. In all these and other spheres, Western adults have learned and can continue to learn from the East in grappling with their modern and postmodern problems.

There is a more important point to note. That is, the modernising processes which the East now undergoes are not the same as what the West has gone through. The Easts oppositional threads of discourse helped preserve more or less successfully elements of its traditional culture in spite of the modernist invasion. To some extent, the phenomenon of globalisation is bringing postmodern cultural elements into the Easterners daily discourses. Accordingly, the path in which the East modernises itself is an untrodden one. So, should there not be lessons for the West to learn from the East? Western adult educators may discover a serious but interesting job in this respect.

Notes

1. The Easterners seem to have widely shared this fear. When the meiji elite--the young samurai from West Japan who accidentally toppled the senile Shogunate--sought to annex Korea they gave the reason of securing peace and security for the East. An Jung Gun, the widely revered Korean patriot, as well justified his 1909 assassination of Hirobumi Ito, the powerful figure in the Japanese elite who had taken control of the Korean government, by the same reason rather than by referring to Itos violation of his nations sovereignty. For the samurai-turned politician, Japans leadership would safeguard peace and security from the dreadful West. For An, Japans expansionist drive would only hurt the peace and security, for it disrupted the Easts internal order in the face of the West.

2. This position enables to explain many interesting Eastern phenomena, for instance, the dictatorial powers which have prevailed Japan, South Korea and Taiwan in the name of liberal democracy; the juche thought which begins with a Marxian man-centred philosophy but ends up justifying mens subordination to a certain infallible Chief; the Japanese model of market economics (Sakakibara 1993) characteristic in its mixing of state control with market competition and present in most Eastern nations; and the relationships of loyalty and protection in firms, political parties, the military, schools, and numerous other institutions. All these phenomena reflect the actual sites of Eastern life on which a modern culture is formed and transformed along the two discursive threads coexistent in parallel, in intertwinement, and in entanglement.

3. Actually, scholars have documented this phenomenon in diverse contexts of various times with its typical features of a cultures expansion towards its peripheries, subsequent cultural transformations in the peripheries, and counter-influence by the transformed peripheral cultures. For instance, Wallerstein (1974), obviously in the Annales tradition of seeking synthese, identifies what he calls modern world system in the late 15th and early 16th century with the Europe of mercantile capitalism at its centre and the rest of the globe at the peripheries. Frank (1992, 1993), on the other hand, takes note of the centrality of Central Asia and argues that the history of globalisation dates as much as five thousand years back. As if to endorse this argument, Algaze (1993) meticulously analyses and compares the remains of the clay tablet civilisation of the alluvial Mesopotamia to make a case that there was an Uruk world system five thousand years ago, although the location is a little bit removed from Central Asia. These studies demonstrate that globalisation can occur wherever a powerful culture expands its influence regardless of the times being modern, pre- or post-modern.

Abstract

The theme of this conference is modernist and postmodernist renderings in adult and continuing education. And the question I am invited to address is, in light of their unique views of education, adult and continuing education in particular, what can East and West learn from each other.

I address this question by qualifying and clarifying three implicated assumptions: that there are certain modernist and postmodernist perspectives, which differ from each other and bear differently upon education; that the two worlds, East and West, exist distinctly, operate separately, and embrace differing views of education; and that the two worlds, or the inhabitants of the two worlds, can enter into some kind of transaction, some constitutive interplay, to give and take some of their educational views to each others benefit.

As to the first assumption, I take note of the totalising logic of modernism which such postmodernist writers as Lyotard and Foucault bring up. These writers suggest multifaceted, plural discourse as a postmodern alternative. Regarding the second assumption, I qualify East and West in terms of the latters modernist expansion, to which the former, as I argue, has been responding in two threads: emulative and oppositional. East in this analysis is a relative concept, the content of which changes as the East-West relationship develops. As to the third assumption, I draw attention to the phenomenon of globalisation, in which the problems of the West become increasingly infused into the discursive veins of the East. My conclusion is that the Wests modernising experience can provide valuable lessons for Eastern adult educators in coping with their newly arising problems while, at the same time, Western adult educators can find in the Eastern phenomena important hints for charting their ways to a stable postmodern condition.

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CENTER OF RESEARCH FOR EDUCATION OF ADULTS (CREA): SOME CRUCIAL ISSUES

(Paper elaborated by CREA[1])

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1.- FROM ANDRAGOGICAL GHETTO TO COMMUNICATIVE THEORY AND PRACTICE

CREA tries to make a contribution to the overcoming of the following constrictions of the AE theories:

a) The Adult Education (AE) theories place themselves in the third level of the following model. Findings in social sciences (first level) are applied to education (second level) some years later, and then to AE (third level). Most AE scholars publish their writings only in specific adult education journals and almost never in the most prestigious journals of education or social science in their countries. Members of educational and social scientifical communities (as those adult educators quote) just do not know AE theories, authors and journals.

b) Most applications of theories in social sciences to AE are made from secondary literature. Many theoreticians of AE talk and write about Habermas' theory of Communicative Action or Foucault's conception of power without having ever read the main works of those authors.

c) The very weak theoretical foundations presently called theory of AE, leads to ground the present explosion of participation in AE. It helps the conservative project of delaying the fall down of the present andragogical ghetto, but not to the creative project of developing AE which enables to confront the cultural inequalities of current information society.

In order to contribute to overcoming of such constrictions, CREA works in the following orientations:

a) We work in a horizontal and communicative way. We are members of diverse scientifical communities having AE as our main focus of research. Theories of AE are part of the theories for education and of the theories for social sciences. Findings from our research are introduced to educational and social science communities.

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b) We are attempting to correct common misunderstandings, for example, the assumed opposition between instrumental and communicative learning or the misconceived idea that Foucault is against power. We are doing this through examining the detailed analyses on the original literature of the authors and theories we use.

c) Our main focus is to develop a new critical theory for adult education, which ensures to confront the present information society. This theory is being constructed by many researchers from diverse disciplines (adult educators, sociologists, pedagogists, psychologists, etc.), social movements activists, as well as practitioners and participants in AE. All of us are collaborating together.

2.- SOME RESEARCHES

2.1.- Adult Education Participation

We have developed a research on AE participation and nonparticipation using quantitative and qualitative methodology such as survey, gatherings, life stories, case studies and contrasts.

The survey has been based on a similar questionnaire which has passed by a number of countries, including Canada, France, Germany, Netherlands, Poland, Spain and Sweden. We outlined two results: a) the good side is the incredible explosion of participation in AE in all the countries; b) the bad side is its unequal distribution. Those who already have attained higher schooling and social positions tend to participate in AE.

Instead of arriving to such apparent conclusions as the low participation of those who have attained lower schooling comes from their lack of motivation to participate, we have looked at the real causes of non-participation, listening to and communicatively interpreting the voices of actors. For the reasons of their lack of participation, contrastingly, lack of time is known to be the reason in survey, inadequacy of timetables is found in interviews, and little access to have information about classes because most course-related information are sent to the people who have attended classes before, are considered to be the main reasons gathered. In life-stories, they have pointed out the positive reputation of attending a master and the negative one of going to literacy courses. In case studies we have found what have made some projects to attract more participation from nonparticipants.

This research has been sponsored by UIE (Hamburg's Unesco Institute of Education), Governments of Catalonia and Galicia and CIDE (belonging to the Governments of Spain).

2.2.- Basic capacities of adult population

Given the well known relative correlation of levels of schooling with functional competencies in daily life, the OECD is promoting a new leveling levels of literacy. This leveling is made with the answers to a questionnaire.

CREA is working on that issue differently. Besides a questionnaire of this kind, we are using qualitative methodologies of research in order to understand and analyze not only people's performance pattern but also their daily life situations. The results to the items of our survey are quite similar to those of the OECD in different countries. But, with qualitative research we have found other interesting conclusions:

- Leveling based on the score of surveys should not be trusted extensively. Especially, levels of schooling in respect to the capacities in daily life situation cannot be analyzed based on survey.

- Leveling can be a negative factor in fostering learning because it discourages those who classified as inferior levels and the governmental and nongovernmental agencies in raising attention to these people.

Qualitative research demonstrated that people's capacities in daily life situations are not taken into account by any of those levelings. Adult Education should take more grounds on those capacities than on the deficits 'founded' on surveys.

This research has been sponsored by UIE (Hamburg's Unesco Institute of Education), Governments of Catalonia and Canary Islands and CIDE (belonging to the Government of Spain).

2.3.- Numeracy at the workplace

A common assumption from the eighties is that those workers up to forty five years old are not considered to be retrainable and to be under the compulsory level of schooling. When a technological innovation was introduced in the company, they were put aside from the workplace.

We created two instruments, grounded on communicative perspective (using works by authors like Habermas) and on cultural perspective. The first one was the ANAT (analysis of the learning needs in the workplace). The second one was the ACOT (analysis of competencies of workers). Applying the second instrument to manual workers, we found they have different numeric competencies we could not grasp through traditional tests. For instance, those workers who could not make an addition with the schooled logic, could make multiplications with the practical logic of calculations with coins. Such cultural competencies were able to ground the learning needs outlined by the ANAT.

This research was supported by Task Force (from European Union) and developed in a joint project between SVE (Netherlands), SCEC (Scotland) and CREA.

2.4.- Communicative capacities and social development

Our researchers have emphasized concerns towards communicative capacities. When a new technology is introduced in the company, the workers ask other persons how to use it, instead of exclusively reading the manual. When we introduce a new electrodomestic in our kitchen, most of us do not study the manual, but ask the installer the main instructions.

Communicative capacities are an important part of basic competencies. How they operate in present information society is the main research subject we are presently developing. Instead of traditional focus on the possibilities of new technologies to our daily life and the deficits of people to manipulate technologies, our concern is on the communicative capacities of people.

This research is supported by the DGICYT (General Direction for Scientifical and Technological Research of the Spanish Government).

2.5.- Unlevelling effect

In the late eighties, Spain did a rotation of 180° in the conception of adult basic education (ABE). We found the traditional compensatory understanding was grounded on several misunderstandings as the followings:

a) Problem of the past: Many adults needed literacy and adult basic education because they did not complete their compulsory education when they were children.

b) Young people will not have this problem in the future because of the present growth and improvement of the school system.

The consequence of this misunderstandings has led to the reluctance of the society to have interest in ABE.

Our research demonstrated:

a) One of main traits of present society is the increasing relevance of cultural background in all areas of social life: workplace, social life, understanding media messages, etc. The concept of literacy and ABE, as well as the concept of poverty, is not stable, but relative to the need of educational background in order to live in a particular society and time.

b) The current pattern of educational growth increases with the lack of basic education in the adult population. Because the educational growth is mostly oriented to young people, educational background of the adult population is unlevelling.

3.- OTHER ACTIVITIES

3.1.- Communicative elaboration in Laws of AE

The research about the unlevelling effect had an incredible impact on the theories and practices of AE. For two centuries of AE history, we had no law concerning AE in Spain. Now we have already four laws and others are in process. Besides, the present General Law of Education of Spain dedicates a whole title to AE.

CREA has participated in this legal development. For instance, in the last development, our center received the demand from the government of Community of Valencia in order to elaborate the project of law. We did it in collaboration with social movements activists. The associations of participants of AE have made the key contribution. It was necessary to change one of the main proposals of the movement. We went to a general assembly and no one was against the change. Participants demonstrated how mature people could be in assemblies when they are not cheated with perlocutionary effects. The law was approved by the Parliament of the Community of Valencia.

3.2.- Support to popular movements of AE

Most members of CREA directly participate in popular projects of AE. In fact, communicative perspective of CREA comes from the interaction between communicative experiences of AE and communicative social theories. The team of CREA has participated in the foundation of FAEA (Spanish Federation of Associations of Adult Education), Grupo 90 (Spanish Association of Professors of AE, member of FAEA) and in FACEPA (Federation of Associations of Participants in AE).

CREA learns through popular movements and these learning contribute to expanding the scientifical community. On the other way around, the center makes contributions to popular movements through the learning it takes from the scientifical community. Both sides are working in an horizontal communication, without a border between theory and practice.

3.3.- Development of critical theories of adult education

We reject the idea that educational theories should be the application of social theories and that theories of AE should be the application of theories of education. We understand theories of AE as theories of education and theories of education as social theories.

We consider our elaboration of theories of adult education as part of the elaboration of social theories. So, they are elaborated in close connection with in depth reading and dialogue with the most recent and important theories of education and social sciences.

That makes our theories influential to the wide field of education and social sciences. For instance, we have elaborated what is presently the most influential work of critical pedagogy not only in AE, but also in the general field of education (Ayuste, 1994).

3.4.- Promotion of Communities of Learning

The communicative projects of AE we have supported, transform communities into learning communities. People developing learning interactions, transform their lives and their social relationships, including the urbanistic landscapes of their areas.

The school system is generating a dramatic failure in poor communities. Currently, we are extending learning communities to the school system with some of the actuations which have been developed till now in adult centers, like participation of the community in the students learning inside the classrooms. In the elaboration of such a process, it has been very important for the reference of an excellent movement developed by Levin (1988) in the US: the accelerated schools.

3.5.- Development of communicative pluricultural perspectives

Racism and Nazism are dramatically rising in Europe. Because information society reduces the offer of working hours, there is a competency for them. Many Europeans think that immigrants are stealing jobs from Europeans. And they react to their anger or frustration by supporting Nazi alternatives.

Besides researching on pluricultural education (as many other groups), we are studying the theoretical grounds of racism in European culture. It is alarming that with the rising of racism, intellectual fashion of the most prominent intellectual Nazis of the century (Heidegger) and his present followers (Foucault, Derrida) are also rising.

3.- INTERACTION BETWEEN THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL BACKGROUNDS

Our main concern is the interaction between the important theories and the best practices. We thoroughly read original literature of the most important contributions to social and educational sciences. The reading includes the discussion of the works page by page, relating them with our practices. In each research, we select the theoretical elements we are going to use from some authors, theories and works. We construct a theoretical/practical debate along with the research. In order to facilitate this communicative process, we have built material like the following schemes[2], from our recent research on participation:

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[2] This is one selection of the 7 schemes we used in that research. The others included the following authors: Austin (1962), Berger (1966), Bernstein (1990), Bourdieu (1979), Giroux (1992), Goffman (1959), Gorz (1983), Mead (1934), Searle (1969) and Willis (1990).

SCHEME 1-WHY SOME ADULTS PARTICIPATE AND SOME OTHERS DON'T? PRESENT SOCIETY, CULTURE, EDUCATION AND LEARNING WHERE PARTICIPATION / HOW PARTICIPATION ARE HAPPENING (1)

THEORY/AUTHOR/BIBLIOGRAPHY	CONTRIBUTION TO STUDY ON PARTICIPATION	APPLICATION TO OUR STUDY
T: Communicative Action A: HABERMAS B: Theory of Communicative Action	Instrumental and communicative rationalities. More than to knowledge and its acquisition. Rationality refers to the use of knowledge by subjects, In instrumental rationality, subjects do an instrumental use of knowledge in order to propose goals and to realize them in an objective world. In communicative rationality, knowledge is a communicative understanding.	Won participation is a consequence of a concept of knowledge as an instrument to get the goals of society, what in practice are the goals of the dominant sectors. When communities define knowledge as the understanding among their members, they get the cultural participation of traditional nonparticipants.
T: Structure Modernity Theory A: GIDDENS B: Modernity and Self-identity	Structures generate social practices(carried out by human agencies) and these practices at the same time generate structures. Transformative capacity of actors. Politics of life. Discursive/practical conscience: what actors know about the conditions of their own actions and can verbalize or cannot.	Participation are transformation are both sides of the same coin. On the one hand, participation of traditional nonparticipants are generates transformation of their lives (may be not structural changes but transformation of way of life, of the closer social context). On the other hand, only the transformation of dominant conceptions and structures can get the participation of those people. Only some qualitative methodologies approach practical consciousness. All quantitative and some qualitative methodologies only reach their discursive consciousness, what is only the iceberg of their knowledge.
T: Matthew Effect A: MERTON B:Sociology of science	Recognition in knowledge gives more to those having more and gives less to those having less. Rewards system determines development of knowledge and its recognition.	Current dominant evaluation of knowledge gives more to those having more and less to those having less; then, it is increasing cultural inequalities. Only the transformation of that current dominant evaluation could promote decreasing of cultural inequalities. Evaluation system is a cultural reward system. If it places people in a scale of hierarchic levels, such classification increases inequalities between those levels.

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SCHEME 2-WHY SOME ADULTS PARTICIPATE AND SOME OTHERS DON'T? PRESENT SOCIETY WHERE PARTICIPATION / HOW PARTICIPATION ARE HAPPENING (1)

THEORY/AUTHOR/BIBLIOGRAPHY	CONTRIBUTION TO STUDY ON PARTICIPATION	APPLICATION TO OUR STUDY
T: Information Society A: CASTELLS B: Nuevas perspectives critican on education.	Transformation from industrial to information society are is moving the key relevance form material resources towards process of information.	Present explosion of AEP we are finding in our researchers (and many actors have been discovering before) is a result of such new relevance of all activities (like AE) that contribute to the selection and process of information.
T: Crisis of work Society A: DFFE B: Crisis of Work Society	Keynesian model of "full employment", through growth, is not possible anymore, if we understand such "full employment" as everyone having traditional jobs. The solution is the distribution of the disponible working hours among all workers and, so, the reduction of the labor day.	Current increasing concentration of training on privileged workers, excluding the other people from AE is in consciously grounded on the wrong idea of the possibility of a illimited growth controlled for a minority of the humanity. Distribution of working hours requires to focus AE among all people, instead of excluding the majority of the population.
T: Generative linguistics A: CHOMSKY B: Language and politics	Difference between competence and actuation (instead of between Language and parole). So, there is an agent as intermediate element. Such agent has a creativity governed by rules. Dominant language creates distortions of communication and information in order to reinforce social exclusion. The solution is not the impossible access of social excluded people to dominant language, but the transformation of that dominant language.	Agents have competence to act differently to what they do and to what other people do. Agents have potentiality to create cultural practices that have never exist till now. Social and cultural excluded people, traditional non participants, should not limit their perspectives to the access to the "superior levels" of knowledge, but to create new cultural practices able to overcome their exclusion.

SCHEME 3-WHY SOME ADULTS PARTICIPATE AND SOME OTHERS DON'T? PRESENT SOCIETY HERE PARTICIPATION / HOW PARTICIPATION ARE HAPPENING (III)

THEORY/AUTHOR/BIBLIOGRAPHY	CONTRIBUTION TO STUDY ON PARTICIPATION	APPLICATION TO OUR STUDY
T: Cultural extension or communication A: FREIRE B: Pedagogy of the Oppressed Pedagogy of the City	Extension of dominant culture, education and research is a form of exclusion of popular culture. Communication means not to extent our own knowledge and patterns to the others, but to dialogue with other perspectives and cultures in order to enrich one each other without loosing our respective identities or arranging them hierarchically as superior or inferior. There is not neutral education, educator or researcher, We are always taking sides for some social sectors, even (principally) if we think we are neutrals. If we try to colonize other countries and cultures, our superior power will get the support of some of their members and will provoke the division of their people and the destruction of their identities. We should not contemplate situations as actors being objects and researchers being the subjects of knowledge. Both are subjects and knowledge comes form dialogue among all persons involved in the situation.	Lower classes need a participation grounded on cultural communication and not on cultural extension. AE oriented as cultural extension qualities them as inferior on culture, motivation, literacy and provokes their resistance and even their rejection. If we take sides for non privileged people, countries and cultures, we cannot place them on the bottom of a classification of levels of literacy or participation. They have already enough classifications (like their educational level) to project negative expectative to them. We should not make the same as the despotist enlightenment: "all for people without people", The study of participation in order to promote it should have a participatory dimension. Participants and not participants have a lot to say. We cannot make conclusions without hearing them.
T: Informal learning A: SCRINNER(Vigotsky/Luria) B: Need and Hand: An Action Approach to Thinking	Informal learning provides the same capacities as formal learning. Those capacities take form of different dexterities in different contexts. In some circumstances, the operations of the hand and of the head are functionally equivalent. We cannot measure capacities of people outside the "natural" context of their activities.	Traditional nonparticipants have the same capacities and motivation than frequent participants. Instead of trying to bring them to our dexterities and motivations or blaming them for lacking, we should learn the capacities and motivations they have and to ground on them cultural projects. If we remove people from their contexts, we cannot grasp their capacities and motivations. The flaw is larger when people have lower educational levels, because those people have contexts and culture more different (not more inferior) to ours. In order to get that, we should share talks and activities with those people.

SCHEME 4-METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH ON ADULT EDUCATION PARTICIPATION (1)

THEORY/AUTHOR/BIBLIOGRAPHY	CONTRIBUTION TO STUDY ON PARTICIPATION	APPLICATION TO OUR STUDY
T: Phenomenological sociology A: SCHULTZ B: Structures of life world.	If you see a person opening a door and you interpret he is entering home, may you are wrong because he is the locksmith. It is better to ask. Ideal types of researchers should be connected to tipifications of daily life of the actor's common sense. Subjective sense depends on the life experience and conscience. Participants give meaning to their own actions. We only can interpret reality asking participants their own interpretations.	People have typifications concerning to those social contexts that are possible spaces for cultural participation. Cultural typifications taken from the common sense contribute to the image of culture people have. We need to know about these interpretations of culture because they are the conditions for action (participation). If we create an image of culture that excludes sectors of people, those persons will have the image that is not for them and we can wrongly interpret that they are not Motivated.
T: Ethnomethodology A: GARFINKEL B: Studies in Ethnomethodology	Persons are not cultural dopes. Actors interpret their own daily experiences. Research about the practical actions based on the categories from the common sense (typifications) because social context is build by actors (as well as their actions depend on the context). Analysis of conversation to find: hided expectative, knowledge implicit, rules stablished from the common sense.	People interpret their own daily experiences through the common sense and act consequently: "Actors are not cultural idiots". Actors know what are the reasons that make them participate or not. Researchers interpretations are not superior to actors' (participants/non participants) ones. Researchers should talk and interact with participants. Participants should analyze their own answers.
T: Qualitative methods in sociology A: CICCOURIEL B: The social organization of Juvenile Justice	Traditional quantitative research methods do not provide social actors interpretations. Need of qualitative ones. New research designs to overcome the bias of the objectivism of surveys and social topography.	We need to use qualitative methodologies, but not exactly the ones Ciccouriel and other authers (hecker) have developed. On the one hand, we have now new developments of social sciences in respect to the grounds of methodologies developed by Ciccouriel and others, On the other hand, AEP is a concrete field of studies and context of research.

4.- METHODOLOGICAL

In order to explain our methodology in practice, we are going to explain how it worked in our recent research on participation.

4.1.- Combination quantitative and qualitative methodologies

Critical research in AEP has the intention of making contribution to the fight against cultural exclusion. Taking into account objective, subjective and social worlds, we are trying to collaborate with governments, social initiatives, professionals and participants who want to improve the field of AE.

Quantitative research based on theories of deficits have consequences of cultural exclusion. This positivist approach has been overcome by interpretative one with the introduction of qualitative methodologies. Research on participation in AE should not be restricted to quantitative surveys about who are participating or not; because what we want is to interpret reality and also to transform it, and for this there is a need for combination of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

This combination is the consequence of two considerations: on the one hand, giving priority to interpretation and choosing the best methodology in each case and, on the other hand, the present necessity of having the quantative data that characterize the social importance of cultural participation and nonparticipation.

Quantitative can give us a description of the context and structural conditions and, from a communicative critical approach, qualitative methodology contributes to do study of subjectivities and it gives information about intersubjective relations among individuals, as well as those motivations and deterrents they have.

In our AEP research we cannot have a quantitative survey as the unique source of data because we lose a rich part of information specially relevant for the subject.

Questionnaires in general are made with elaborated linguistic codes and from the language people use in the daily life. Many items of our questionnaire are created by researchers (by who have academical background). Therefore, what we get is not the actors' interpretations.

Persons with a schooling background have advantages when answering the questionnaire because they are more used to being in a test situation.

This kind of survey excludes information from functionally illiterate persons so it gives a partial description of reality of participation and non participation that excludes those people more suitable to engage AE.

For instance, when we only have quantitative data in research on participation and non-participation and we interpret them from theories of deficits, the conclusion happens to be: people with low schooling levels are not motivated to participate; so we should motivate them.

Through qualitative research, those who are lowerly schooled demonstrate to us how the programs offered exclude them from participation. Therefore, we can conclude that we need to make our programs more available to them.

In order to have a complete description of reality it is necessary to develop combined qualitative methodologies which depicts communicative situations of dialogue and which offers the interpretations of those commonly excluded culture.

4.2.- Critical communicative approach for research of the issue of AEP: gatherings, daily life stories and case studies.

A new orientation to qualitative research has been created by the four kinds of theoretical work: a) reviewing the most usual methodologies in qualitative research and the most representative literature in social sciences, b) reflecting on both activities from a study focused on those sectors of a culturally excluded population which consider these people as persons who are not 'cultural idiots', c) discovering that, in the new information society, we should look for the most determinant factors for cultural participation or non participation in people's daily life context, d) the permanent corroboration of researchers' ontological assumptions are not more complex than those that we impute to actors.

a) We found important differences among the most usual methodologies in qualitative research and the present literature in social sciences. Since Goffman developed the dramaturgic action or Garfinkel's the communicative one, there have been contributions like the Theory of Communicative Action of Habermas, the Structuration Theory of Giddens, the Scribner studies on Practical Intelligence and others that have given a new dimension to social sciences. They are the base of qualitative methodologies. Unfortunately, sometimes instead of taking the orientation towards the incorporation of these improvements there has been a tendency to confuse them with other statements like structuralists (or Lacanian psychoanalyst-structuralists) and poststructuralists ones which, on the one hand, are in contradiction with the ethnomethodological approach and, on the other hand they are already overcome by social sciences.

b) Social research is in permanent danger of instrumentalization of persons and of not taking into account that they are individuals who interpret and build their own lives. This danger increases with marginalized persons. Qualitative research has taken important steps in the consideration of these persons as actors who have interpretations of their situation and who are not 'cultural idiots'. However, in the usual methodological development itself there can be seen a deep presence of deficit theories which claim that these persons do not know how to build a debate. This methodological development must be replaced from concepts (like practical conscience and practical intelligence) that will not put deterrents to the consideration of individuals as actors, nor in the data contribution neither in their interpretations.

c) Actors in daily life in the present information society is slightly different from the one taken from implicit considerations in the usual qualitative research, specially when it is taken from perspectives, like the psychoanalytic-structuralist ones, based on institutions and social life typical of industrial society. Nowadays, in many settings, concerning cultural participation or non participation, social relations stabilized in markets, cafes, work places or community centers, are more determinant than school or family history. In fact, participation and non participation depend on those interpretations permanently build in daily life and the information about the past changes according to those interpretations.

d) Due to the hierarchical organization of research institutions, where equality is rejected with an aim of fighting towards categories, the permanent corroboration of researchers ontological assumptions are not more complex than those imputed to actors.

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Ideological Space Makers: The Need in Graduate Programs in Adult Education.

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From our experience of 25 years in developing a graduate program in adult education I want to reflect on the difficulties of our everyday work as ideological space makers within a traditional university located in a conservative political milieu. Not only is the university encapsulated in traditionalism, but almost all adult education programs across the country have promoted professionalism and technique above the progressive concerns of promoting democratic social change. Accordingly, not only did the contextualization of the Northern Illinois University (NIU) graduate program within a traditional institution promote education which reproduced the extant social order but there were no progressive exemplars across the country to follow, as we initiated our work. As Wilson argues, empirical analytical science has been central to the definition and professionalization of the field of American (sic.) adult education since the 1930's (p. 260). This concern for professionalization and the creation of a disciplinary field of adult education led to the forfeiting of the rich historic traditions coming from the roots of social action and social movements in the 1920's. In fact, Wilson (1992) documents the fact that the emancipatory social movement heritage is absent from the "knowledge base" of the decennial handbooks of adult education including the 1934, 1936, 1948, 1960, 1970, and 1990 editions. Accordingly, United States graduate programs which grew up in this same period were concerned with establishing the field, not rocking the boat.

The Northern Illinois Struggle - 1976 forward

We started our graduate program by offering courses in 1969. By 1973, the masters program was approved and the doctoral degree program followed in 1977. There were 6 tenure track faculty in 1978 and 11.5 in 1996, along with 2 adjunct faculty. In May, 1996, there were 387 majors (256 doctoral; 131 masters). A balance of interests has characterized the faculty and in 1976, there were two faculty members and 3 instructors who were interested in a progressive agenda. Our starting points were urban, race and class but we were naive in our analysis. We had a ten year specially funded project which located us on an extended campus: in Chicago. We worked with teachers of poor adults many of whom were African Americans and Latino(a)'s. We, in Chicago, mainly developed our space around community based education and recruitment of African and Latino Americans into graduate study. The critical turn occurred through our students and our experience. Students, many of whom had experience with the social upheavals of the sixties along with community based organizers, and the International Council for Adult Education, pushed us into a more radical critique.

There was freedom and funds in the first ten years to support progressive students and a Chicago base 65 miles from campus. This maximized our abilities to develop relevant curriculum because we were in daily contact with out larger urban and smaller progressive community on a daily basis. As long as we dealt individually with students and made variations in courses not programs we experienced few problems from the university.

However, several events coincided historically which brought out the guardians of the state: 1) we lost our grant in 1986 because of our community based politics (about $400,000 a year): 2) we gained a department chair who supported change: 3) we began to be more visible as we graduated marginalized persons: and 4) our curriculum was becoming more critical, inclusive and sociological. Our students also became more visible on campus, critiquing women's studies (too Eurocentric), Black Studies (too patriarchal), graduate school (resource allocation issues). The Africentric discourse which united Black Students was considered inappropriate by some university faculty; the African American annual student conference (much like a caucus) was at first criticized by some of our own faculty and later not seen as a priority by most European American adult education faculty and students.

A War of Attrition ensued with the graduate school ostensibly over standards, externalized programs and curricular issues. However, we had externalized the masters programs for our first twelve years with no critique by the Graduate School and we had concrete evidence on our student's scholarly activity which compared favorably with other programs in the university, but these hard data were trivialized. The "academy" could not understand our alliance with the community and our views on democratizing the university.

One can never put a finger on racism in the United States so we will never know how much the standards issues was a race issue or to what extent the visibility of our African American and Latino student's critical discourse affected the critique of our program. Clearly some of the problems for adult education came from the audacity of our Department Chair to create innovation in highly creative bureaucracy challenging ways. And we as a faculty have to assume responsibility for some of the hostility towards our program because our student load was heavy and not only did we have students who were not impressed with "hoopery" and whom we had to go to the mat for bureaucratically but also we missed warnings of trouble because we were overwhelmed by our own work not keeping watch on the political climate of the university. The escalation of this passive-aggressive opposition by the graduate school turned on memos: What is adult education? Is this topic appropriate for adult education? Who will be on the committee if the student pursues this topic? We learned to put "adult education" into the titles of dissertations or write a memo defending the student's topic at the same time it was submitted.

The graduate school did not question empirical analytical studies on learning or teaching, but studies on "The effect of human capital formation on development in Nigeria," or the "Building of the civil society in Hungary" or "Africentric womanism: the interaction of race, class, gender in adult education" were questioned. Research approaches which were not grounded in the scientific paradigm femused if not shocked some of our colleagues and we were accused of lacking rigor by a few.

On the home front, an uneasy truce was struck between the Human Resource Development (HRD) persons/curriculum and those trying to develop a progressive critique. HRD (and its cousin continuing professional education) laid out the class issues. Working with the poor and undereducated and the development of the critique of workplace education was left up to those wanting to exist on "soft money" and few places for employment. Nationally HRD enveloped graduate programs and the Commission of Professors and we were no exception. Graduate students, including marginalized persons, learned uncritically to: spin a web of double loop learning, empower workers, and sculpt the learning organization. The creation of elaborated discourse for training workers to help industry increase profits and to help the "down sized" or "right sized" workforce increase productivity because the unquestioned norm, we went in business with instructional technology and the business school to developed courses in HRD and HRM (human resource management). At the same time we had some success on the left. We did the seemingly impossible in recruiting marginalized persons into our program. Clearly, race and ethnicity represents only one repressive social construction. But with diversity one does get a dialogue. How well we accomplished this goal is both a function of admissions and graduation. Here are the data on what we accomplished.

What is the role of progressive University gate keepers?

NIU is a second tier institution and by one definition has as its role producing functionaries for the state. However, one could also define NIU as a public university which, in the long tradition of egalitarianism in "American" higher education, is a structure for democratizing education. We chose the latter conceptualization. We admitted on average between 15 and 30 students a year (7 - 47 range) between 1974 and 1996. In 1988, 1989 and 1990 we started three doctoral cohorts. Admission data are shown in Table 1, with the cohort data broken out in 5 year intervals.

TABLE I
Doctoral Student Admissions

5 year Period	Traditional	cohort	Total
1974-78	77	--	77
1979-98	124	--	124
1984-88	103	30	133
1989-93	81	69	150
1994 and 1995	84	0	84(2 years)

The program grew quickly from 1976 forward; we are one of four faculties in one of four departments in the College of Education. In 1978, adult education represented 11% of the department credit hour productions; by 1991, that number increased to 19%; adult education enrolled 43% of the departments majors and awarded 21% or the 107 doctoral degrees from the department in 1991 and has maintained that level of activity (NIU). In 1995, we graduated 15 doctoral students, six of whom were Black and one Asian.

The first African American doctoral student was recruited in 1976 and the first international student in 1978. Each year from 1976 to 1988 (except 1986) one to six U.S. marginalized students were admitted. But it wasn't until the start of the cohorts that this number expanded dramatically (Cunningham, 1991a).

The Role of Innovation

The NIU graduate program in education, according to Smith, the Department Chair is held hostage by seven flawed assumptions perpetrated in the late nineteenth century under the ideal of meritocracy: 1) that the degree will be completed in thirty-six to forty-eight months of fulltime study: 2) that graduate study in education should be and is a fulltime endeavor: 3) that study should commence immediately at the conclusion of the baccalaureate: 4) that a tuition waiver and enough income to pay for a dorm room or equivalent efficiency apartment and monastic food allowance will sustain the three years of study (because candidates will postpone acquiring any dependents until they finish at age twenty-five or twenty-six): 5) that the small number of assistantships available will be sufficient to produce the requisite number of doctoral graduates: 6) that highly qualified candidates can be recruited nationally through such publications as the Chronicle of Higher Education: and 7) that applicants can be screened effectively using the Graduate Record examination (GRE). (Smith, p. 2).

For these reasons, Smith was interested in developing cohort programs with pre-set curricula, group support, a schedule to accommodate the part time student, and place emphasis on leadership and policy studies. Smiths views fit well with some of the adult education faculty who reasoned that group cooperative models of education were more in tune with the cultural proclivities of some marginalized groups, that making programs convenient to the student promoted access for marginalized persons, and developing curricula that was inclusive of a wide spectrum of knowledges promoted a more critical and lively analysis in the classroom. Other faculty chose not to work with the cohorts.

The adult education faculty has sponsored six cohorts: three doctoral, two masters, and one cooperative advanced specialist educational degree (Eds.) with the Education Administration faculty. Data on these groups are shown in Table II.

TABLE II
Adult Education Cohorts

Date Initiated	Degree	Admitted	Marginalized		Completion	
1/88	Alpha/Ed.D	30	5	16%	20	66%
6/88	Omega/Ed.D	32	28	88%	14	44%
8/90	Comm College/Ed.D	40	23	58%	18	45%
1/88	Beta/MSED	25	22	88%	18	72%
9/93	Pop Ed/MSED	25	12	48%	13	46%
5/94	Pilsen/Ed.S	63	53	84%	60	95%

Prior to the cohorts, through traditional programming, the adult education faculty, according to 1990 data, had recruited 16% marginalized and 15% international students among the 178 active doctoral students; in contrast, the three doctoral cohort groups with 87 active students had 64% from marginalized groups. Clearly, the cohorts were an effective way to recruit marginalized persons. The diversity of active students in the doctoral program is shown in Table III, as of May 1996.

TABLE III
Doctoral Student Census by Race/Ethnicity (5/1/96)

Group	Number of Students	% of Students
European American	142	56.5
African American	69	27.0
Latino American	14	5.5
Asian American	4	1.6
Native American	1	.4
International	26	10.0
TOTAL	**256**	**100%**

International students came from 19 countries; Asia: 14 from 7 countries; Africa: 4 from 4 countries; Caribbean: 3 from 3 countries; and one student each from Peru, Chile, Ireland, Germany, and Romania. Thirty eight percent of the students now in the program are students of color. This fact alone changes the dynamics of what goes on in the classroom, what the research agenda becomes, and whose knowledges are a part of the curriculum. NIU has stabilized over the last 5 years at this ratio of about 60% white/40% persons of color; about 10 - 12% international students mostly from developing countries contribute to that 40%. The percentage of non-white and international students from developing countries is uncharacteristically high for U.S. programs.

Was the graduation rate improved by the Cohorts?

In 1990, the graduation rate of students in our traditional program was 30% when one looked at the 464 students admitted over the life of the program as compared to 141 graduated (Cunningham, 1991a). However, 261 (56%) were still active and potentially able to graduate and clearly many had not had time to graduate. Sixty-two students (31%) were inactive and had been dropped from the roster.

In order to make a more realistic analysis, all students admitted between 1976 and 1985 were included in a 1990 analysis, thus allowing a five period for the latest admissions to graduate. The overall graduation rate was 53% but 55% for European Americans, 57% for international students, and 35% each for African and Latino Americans. African Americans in these data took, on average, 6.5 years to complete their program while European Americans took 5.5 or 1 years less. African Americans dropped out at a higher rate(41%) than that of European Americans (18%); the overall attrition rate was 45 students or 21% (Cunningham, 1991a). Cohorts have a stronger retention and graduation rate. Starting in 1988, and for a 6 to 8 year period, as compared to the ten year period utilized for the traditional students, the cohorts have the following graduation and retention rates as displayed in Table IV.

TABLE IV
(May, 1996) Doctoral Cohort Graduation Rates by Race/Ethnicity

Cohort	#years	Dropped	European	African	Latino	Asian	Native
Alpha	8	3	68%	100%	100%	---	---
Omega	8	5	66%	55%	44%	---	---
CC	6	7	60%	42%	---	---	100%
TOTAL	—	**15**	**66%**	**52%**	**47%**	**0%**	**100%**

Fifteen of the original 102 students admitted to the cohorts did not finish the course work (15%) as compared to 21% drop-out from the traditional doctoral program. In Table II we saw that the Alpha has a 66%, Omega 44%, and Community College Cohort 45% graduation rate. Now we can see in Table III the marked improvement of graduation in all ethnic/racial groups in the cohort as compared to traditional students. European Americans went from 55% to 66%; African and Latino Americans went from 35% to 52% and 47% respectively. The snapshot for the traditional students was for a minimum 5 to a maximum 10 years in the program; the cohorts are being assessed in a 6 to 8 year period, yet they show higher rates of graduation in the shorter period.

To summarize the demographic data, we have aspired to be a large program and to be inclusive. We have documented rate and ethnicity; social class is more difficult. We do know that many of our students have working class and a few come from extremely poor families. The issue of feminism surfaced late in the program, about 1990, and is now reflected in the curriculum. The proportion of women increased as the program grew and is now at 59%. In May, 1996, the mean age of doctoral students was 46; about 75% were part time students.

In reflecting on the program, I believe that the "cohort concept" is an appropriate option for democratizing the university and increasing the graduation rate. Size of program is more debatable. Presently, we have a 22 to 1 doctoral student/faculty relationship ratio. This may be too high because of the strain it places on the student/faculty which requires time together and demands on time make it difficult for faculty to work extensively especially with part time commuter students.

In several papers we have described other ways we have tried to develop space for encouraging change (Cunningham, 1991a, 1991b, 1993a, 1993b; Cunningham and Smith). Here is a summary of those activities.

1) to encourage African-Latino (a) cohesiveness and knowledge production through annual student research conferences on their agendas;

2) the addition to the traditional graduate curriculum of sociological, political economy, and policy courses;

3) to explicitly explore gender, race, class interactions in educational process;

4) to strengthen our ties with community based educational organizations which emphasize

education for democratic social change;

5) to encourage student enrollment and formal agreements with progressive adult educators from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean;

6) to promote research which critically examines "development" both in the U.S. and in other countries represented in our student body;

7) to develop institutional partnerships for encouraging education that develops on the edge of social movements within poor and marginalized populations;

8) to provide practical experience within poor communities, utilizing participatory research, study circles, and popular culture;

9) widening the concept of research methodology to interpretive and naturalistic approaches.

Accomplishments and Limitations

In assessing the growth quantatively and qualitatively, Cunningham and Smith divided the graduate program development into 3 periods; Identity Formation (1970-1978), Maturation and Challenges (1979-1987), and Diversity (1988-1993). Throughout these three periods there was a growing effort to open up the ideological structures to a more progressive agenda. This claiming of space was helped in the first ten years by the physical presence in Chicago for it is in the urban areas that diverse racial, ethnic and a more heterogeneous population exists. As the faculty grew, a balance of intellectual and political interests was struck. The dominant discourse over the last ten years has moved from psychology of the learner, continuing professional education, learning to learn, and mentoring to the learning organization, and HRD. Other university graduate programs have shown similar diversification; psychological concerns, including transformational learning, self directed learning, adult development characterize some programs; human resource development is the other major interest and can be found as a substantial part of most U.S. programs. Education concerned with social transformation, includes feminist, anti-heterosexual, anti-racist discourses; cultural contextualization of the American Indian, Asian, African and Latino American experience; critical theory; and depending on the support of one or two faculty members. The number of non-white professors has doubled in the last six years from 7 to 14 out of some 200 who identify with the Commission of Professors. The need for ideological space is there, but the space often closes rapidly as faculty members committed to these values move or retire.

What the NIU program has demonstrated is that if a broad based definition of adult education is a priority among a faculty, one can find professors and students who will be the space makers to foster a counter discourse to the dominant one. However, it is clear that any ideological space that is developed can close as quickly as it opened. It is also clear that the sponsoring institutions, the university and external funders, are not comfortable with power shifts.

A second point relates to African and Latino American recruitment. There are excellent candidates for doctoral study within these marginalized groups when one designs programs that make enrollment possible. Of the 59 African, Native and Latino American doctoral graduates, 8 or 14% have or are in the process of publishing a book; nine have moved into university professor positions.

A third observation is that recruitment of substantial numbers of non-white and progressive students is an excellent way to effectively change the curriculum. This includes the introduction of new content in establishing courses, new courses, more challenging discussion in classes, new cultural perspectives, and the challenging of dominant assumptions. Linkages between marginalized domestic students and international students from the south are common. And these linkages along with the diversity these students bring affect students from the U.S. dominant culture.

A fourth observation is that faculty that reflect marginalized students racial, ethnic, and conceptual diversity bring healthy conflict into the faculty meetings and discussions. Such diversity denys the taken for grantedness of being white or male.

Issues in North American Graduate Education

1. To what degree should a graduate program in adult education focus on their technology?
2. What is the place of critical theory and post-modern thought in a curriculum focused on practice?
3. How do we bring cultural relevance to our curriculum which involves faculty and students from the dominant groups as well as those marginalized?
4. How does one focus on developing a welcoming structure within the university for culturally diverse students and faculty rather than to frame the problem around their alleged deficits.

Our next step at NIU is developing a project which could center and extend our progressive social change agenda. The major conceptual field on which to ground this project would be work, community, and family; the organizing principles would be culture, education and knowledge. The goal is to work towards a new paradigm for the creation of democratic social movements. A culture and education project would provide an intersection of the university with work, community and family. Harts treatise (1992) on work would be one starting point, the partnership of community/university would be another. The conceptual education of graduate students must interface with the political work on the ground in the community; both should benefit. The family is important since it is the first grouping in the civil society and because the family is conceptualized as the center of work. The African-American family is presently under siege; the concept of family is changing and social space is now present to create change.

1. How do we in education, within cultural contexts, create knowledge and knowledge producers? How do we challenge the market as the fundamental value of our culture?
2. Most social critics recognize the limitations of both marxist and free market economies. In addition most educators recognize that the market is driving educational practice. How can we recognize work so that it educates for life? How do we develop cultural norms to center work around the family so that education develops more robustly as learning for life rather than learning for earning.
3. How can intellectuals in the university work with intellectuals in the community to develop a robust civil society through mutual engagement?
4. How can the experiences of the poor in other countries inform and assist our analysis of

the social construction of poverty in the U.S. urban centers? Anti-racist programs? Collective work strategics?

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SENIOR CITIZEN EDUCATION IN KOREA: CURRENT STATUS AND DEMANDS

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I. Introduction

In recent times, senior citizen-related problems have been recognised as important social issues in Korean society. The combined effects of an aging population, industrialization and urbanization have brought about a remarkable change in the life style, status, and role of senior citizens. In the traditional extended family, aged people held a symbolic position that guaranteed them respect and authority. However, with the emergence of the nuclear family in modern times, these values have been eroded as the focus shifted to the values of the younger and middle-aged generation. As society increasingly emphasized the importance of economic efficiency and utility-based production, so there was a corresponding decline in the social status and role of aged people. Once retired, there was a feeling of isolation and marginalization among many senior citizens.

In traditional Korean society, family loyalties took precedence over individual aspirations and desires. The ethic of 'filial piety' was the foundation of family life whereby aged people received a good life, authority and fame. The concept of 'filial piety' is rooted in the Confucian tradition. It has a spiritual meaning which conveys authority, respect, and status for aged people. Therefore, most aged people secured respect and financial and emotional security, were in charge of number of ceremonies in the family, and maintained their position as the most important person in the family until their death. 'Filial piety' has been an important ethic for all Korean children and parents in fulfilling their social obligations and responsibilities.

Along with rapid industrialization came an increasing emphasis upon individualism and independence as universal values in Korean society. These values are the opposite to Korean familism and bring forth immense changes in the character of the traditional Korean family. In traditional Korean society, the dependence of aged people on their children was considered as a right. Nowadays, they perceive themselves to be both a physical and psychological burden upon their children. As a result of these changes, many Korean senior citizens feel increasingly alienated.

While familism remains a dominant force in Korean society, the structure and role of family members has greatly changed. Younger family members are now busy pursuing their own life and as a result, have little time for family talks and family contact.. As families spend less time doing family activities, the aged spend more of their time watching television or playing with similar aged persons.

The co-existence of familism and individualism is a uniquely Korean phenomenon. The basic task for resolving the issues related to senior citizens has very much to do with the compromise and the combination between familism and individualism. Problems arising from active life styles, role crises, conflicts with daughter-in-laws and grandchildren should be overcome by creating a new culture which acknowledges such influences.

Korean aged people have a distinctive historical background. Most of them were the victims of Japanese colonization which only allowed them an elementary level of education. Even after the liberation they suffered from the Korean War and the subsequent ideological conflict between North Korea and South Korea. They may well be the last generation to experience the values of familism as we know it.

Because aged people no longer have the same authority, and status in family life they are slowly becoming more independent and less dependent upon their children for support. The recent increase in single families of aged persons reflects this change. In 1990, it was up to 27.4% and it is expected to increase to 35.0% by the year 2000 and 60% in 2020. The phenomena of single families among aged people might be related to young people preferring their own life styles but also to the increased tendency for aged people desiring to live by themselves. Especially, aged persons who have attained relative financial independence and a high educational level, tend to believe that it is more comfortable and a better quality of life if they live by themselves rather than living with their children.

In short, the population increase of aged people, owing to the advancement of economics and medical technology and the corresponding increase in single families of aged people, coupled with the increasing trend for young people to neglect their parents, has engendered the changes of consciousness about later life.

The changes in family values create a lot of difficulties in many ways. For example, as more middle-aged people take on the job of decision makers in family and financial management, aged people no longer receive the same respect and authority that they once had. This has impacted negatively in terms of sustaining traditional familism. Hence, many aged persons are having psychological difficulties and conflicts.

Research on the life style and consciousness of senior citizens shows that they suffer from health problems, the loss of role taking, financial difficulties, psychological loneliness, and alienation. Korean aged people are very worried about financial difficulties and health problems, lack of opportunity for social participation, and insecurity in later life.

Another urgent issue for many Korean senior citizens is connected to the value conflicts with young people. This has much to do with the generation gap and the cultural lag between the two generations. This breeds a great deal of psychological tension and conflict.

Considering these changes, the task and direction of senior citizen education in Korea should centre on educational programs which develop their consciousness and assist them to re-establish their status and role in the family and society.

II. The Current Status of Senior Citizen Education in Korea

1. Varieties of Senior Citizen Education Programs

It is not an easy matter to assess the current status if Korean senior education programs as there is much freedom and flexibility in initiating them. Any individual or group interested in senior education can, with or without formal screening of law or procedure, initiate programs regardless of place and equipment, set the policy, choose learning materials, instructors and time schedule.

According to a 1996 report of the Division of Welfare of Senior Citizens, Department of Social Welfare Policy, Ministry of Health and Welfare, the total number of senior citizen schools is 426 and the number of students is 41,151. Most students are required to be over 60 years of age, living in the same community. Senior citizen schools are non-regular schools, with varying programs related to the welfare and leisure of aged persons. These schools have various names such as Senior Citizen Schools, Schools for Aged Persons, or Universities for Senior Citizens. The 1996 report on Senior Citizen Schools by the Department of Health and Welfare shows the location and number of senior citizen schools in Korea:

Table 1[1]
The Current Status of Senior Citizen Schools

City and Province	The Number of Institutions Senior	Citizen Schools The Number of Senior Citizens
Seoul	99	7,605
Pusan	68	7,665
Daegu	15	2,060
Inchon	8	918
Kwangju	6	524
Taejon	10	866
Kyunggido	53	4,701
Kangwondo	17	3,344
Chungbuk	19	1,253
Chungnam	15	1,043
Chunbuk	6	603
Chunnam	25	2,023

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[1] Geun, Young Jun (1993), "A study on the status of senior citizen schools," M.Ed. thesis, Chung-ang University.

Kyungbuk	29	3,731
Kyungnam	41	3,652
Jaeju	15	1,163

Recently, churches and temples have started to establish senior citizen schools and their involvement has contributed to the rapid expansion of the system. Korean senior citizen schools appear to have similar characteristics but when carefully considered,groups with very different backgrounds have different policies for running the schools. The following categories reflect such different backgrounds of the groups:

1. Senior citizen schools by senior citizen groups. Run by the Korean Association of Adult Education, the Korean Association for Senior Citizens, and the Red Cross Association for Serving Senior Citizens.
2. Senior citizen schools by social service groups. Run by Youth Centers, the Korean Women's Welfare Society, YMCA, YWCA, Saemaul service groups.
3. Senior citizen schools by religious groups. Run by Buddhist, Protestant, and Roman Catholic groups.

2. Purposes of Senior Citizen Schools

The following summary identifies the major purposes of senior citizen schools. The purposes will vary according to the different backgrounds of the groups involved.

1. Senior citizen schools aim to expand the groups involved in the operation of the school and cultivate cultural capabilities of their members .

According to the mission statement of the senior citizen schools run by the Korea Association for Senior Citizens, the largest group of aged people having 250 schools in Korea, senior citizen education schools aim resolve conflict arising from the competing values of East and West, Old and Young, re-develop the potential of aged people with the attainment of appropriate perspectives in our time, help them create a new life by offering knowledge about health management.

The schools founded in 1983 by the Red Cross Service Association for Senior Citizens, one of the most well-known schools, are directed to help aged persons, advance health, to guide them to help each other and feel the joys of sharing through recultivating the virtues of generosity and modesty rooted in human respect, help them develop perspectives which involve understanding the tasks and changes of current time, hence, overcoming prejudice and preconception to help them realize that senior citizens have enriching histories and traditions and wisdom for the subsequent generations. Futhermore, the schools should continue to help aged persons consolidate what they have learned in everyday life.

As shown above, the senior citizen schools run by the groups of senior citizens develop individual or group-oriented objectives. These objectives are mainly the achievement of social adjustment and human respect for development of potential and re-validation of the authority and roles of senior citizen in family and society.

2. Senior citizen schools, by social service groups are focused not only on the issues of social adjustment of aged persons but also on the issue of marginalization of aged persons. Some of the schools have goals often enhancing respect and 'filial piety' toward aged peoples.

The schools that are run by women or youths groups attempt to comfort the \alienated aged persons by emphasizing the respect of the young and adults for aged persons. The Pusan Sewha Senior Citizen School, for example, describes its objectives as follows:

The main purpose of our school is to comfort the lonely and alienated aged persons and help them to live more actively and meaningfully. Even though the importance of this matter is not recognized in society, we hope our work will regain our traditional spirit of filial respect.

Another example is Susan University for Senior Citizens, founded in 1983 with the purpose of providing social service. It has the following objective:

> This school aim to improve the capabilities for social adjustment and role taking in society; to gain skills for health maintenance to guide and recognize the importance of sustaining and transmitting tradition; to recultivate the potentialities of aged persons by having classes of developing cultural abilities and specialities. It aims to help the aged persons to pursue a happy and comfortable life, overcoming loneliness and alienation.

3. Religion-based senior citizen schools have the objective of enhancing respect aged persons as well as the propagation of their religious values. Most religious schools are Christian. There are some Buddhist and Catholic schools as well.

Chung-nung Senior Citizen School, founded in 1975, seeks has the following objectives:

> Based on Christianity, this school to help aged persons in social adjustment and the alleviation of loneliness and alienation. We also try to help aged persons to better understand younger generations with the perspective of lifelong education. Finally, we hope to facilitate aged persons to develop their own view concerning senior citizens and guide them to make more friends and have a more hopeful and joyful life.

As illustrated in the above purposes, these schools put efforts into lifelong education but neglect the issues of health, role-making, and alienation.

3. The Curriculum and the Learners needs

There has been much research on the subjects of selecting contents and methods but insufficient efforts have been made for program development and effective management. Programs are difficult to follow as planned owing to the problems of selecting instructors and implementing.

We can analyse some characteristics of the content of the various schools in the following way.

* Senior Citizen leading Schools by Senior Citizen Groups

Some schools have a pre-planned curriculum. Korea Association for Senior Citizens, considered the senior citizen group, sets the following. The subject areas: classes for senior citizens, community activities of senior citizens, domestic and international issues and government activities, guidance of youths and enhancement filial piety.

The curriculum consists of 20% liberal education, 40% national policy issues, 20% skills development, 20% health management. An example of the South Seoul Senior Citizen School's curriculum is as follows:

The role and task of senior citizens;
Senior citizens and the community;
Basic knowledge concerning the illness of aged persons;
Understanding the reality of North Korea;
Our history;
Later life in Western society;
Health management of aged persons;
Money management of aged persons;
Maintenance of health;
Traditional culture and respectable ways of living;
The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren;
Leisure for senior citizens and;
Social service activities.

This school has based the above curriculum on 50 hours for a year. Another 50 hours spent on music, dance, and recreation. In addition to the 100 hours class time, they often travel, visit broadcasting institutions, and hold song contests.

The school run by the Red Cross Service Association for Senior Citizens consists of 13 curriculum topics such as liberal education, health, the ideas of Red Cross, religion, home economics, geography, history, current issues, classical literature, Korean literature, physical training, music, and entertainment. Each of these 13 topic consumes 2 hours. Sometimes, a certain aged person amongst learners will be chosen as an instructor. When inviting external instructors, they tend to invite doctors, professors, well-known persons, or priests.

This school, at the beginning of the year, collects curriculum material and learning resources through person-to-person consultation with the learners. The collected material used in the selection and organization of the contents. Therefore, the school can be considered to reflect the learners' point of view and needs.

I would like to introduces the Seoul Senior Citizen School as an example. This school has a one-hour class everyday. Another hour is assigned to extra-curricular activities according to the interests of the learners.

The extra-curricular activities consist of singing class, traditional music class, musical instrument class, traditional folk song class, physical education class, etc. Each club has its own instructor and helps develop creativity. As shown above, most of the curriculum is focused on hobby oriented activities. Only some of the programs deal with the issues related to the consciousness of aged persons. The basic role of senior citizen schools is to facilitate social participation and activities through activities and programs related to hobbies, health, and other daily activities. These schools are considered to be leisure schools.

* Senior Citizen Schools Organised by Social Service Groups

A class for mothers, run by the Centre for Law and Women, comprising learners of the age of 60 or more, has the following curriculum:

The need of lifelong education and its practice
Keeping good health
Pollution in food
Democratization of family
The perspective of mother-in-law in the conflicts with daughter-in-law
The perspective of daughter-in-law in the conflicts with mother-in-law
Problems related to the marriage of children;
Understanding youths;
Wisdom of living together;
Trends of the world;
Consumer education; and
Law and semior citizens.

* Religion Based Senior Citizen Schools.

The Chung-nung School for Senior Citizens, rooted in Christianity, has a curriculum of geography, history, law, economics, morality, ethics, religion, medicine, health, home economics, psychology, common sense. They have formal classes every Saturday between 1:00 to 3:00 p.m. The second hour is for music and dancing. However, the learners have to come to school at 11:00 a.m. and attend a worship service for an hour. Generally, the main focus of the curriculum is to foster Christianity and cultivate liberality. Therefore, they deal with the topic related to Christian life and wisdom of daily life.

Most students of the Chung-nung Senior Citizen School are Buddhists. The school requires all students to attend Buddhist classes. The curriculum is as follows:

Ways to have long life;
The words and actions of Buddha;
Health management;
The relationship between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law;
Senior citizens' life in foreign countries;
Buddhism in South and East Asian countries;
The relationship between the grandparents and grandchildren;
Senior citizens' money management;
Home ceremonies;
Music and entertainment; and
Travelling.

Paoro Senior Citizen School, run by the Catholics, has classes every Friday between 2:00-4:00 p.m. The characteristic of this school is that major contents of the regular classes consist of women's interests.

According to an needs analysis, most common needs of students are health related. Other popular needs are family life education, hobby life education, basic education, citizenship education, skills education. According to this analysis, while male senior citizens tend to prefer hobby oriented classes, female learners were generally interested in family life. In other studies, senior citizen needs are related to the issues of aged people, the appropriate attitude of an eldest in the family, and morality and ethics. However, only a small number of schools address these issues.

Failure to fully address the needs of learners is due to the fact that little research is available on what the learners actually desire to learn. Moreover, not many instructors are available for teaching about the issues relating to later life. Even when capable instructors are available, the schools often cannot afford to pay the instructors. The major purposes and contents of Korean Senior Citizen Schools are the expansion of the membership of their own groups, individual development, and transformation of consciousness. But in real practice, the contents are centered around hobbies. Only some schools are offering programs in consciousness transformation.

In schools organised by social service groups, the main purpose of the curriculum is to enhance respect and filial piety. Actual classes, however, emphasize role taking in family and the wisdom of living together.

Senior citizen schools run by religious groups are centered around religious learning, common sense, and liberal education.

III. Tasks and Demands of Senior Citizen Education

The increasing demands for senior citizen education in Korea are not merely a matter of a social campaign advocating respect for the elders. It has the task of settling the problems related to aged people. In our aging society, senior citizens' social adjustment comes to be considered a search for congruous social development. Accordingly, the educational task should be developing social roles and exploring new values for later life.

Senior citizen education programs should contain practical contents related to the issues of social adjustment and appropriate development tasks of senior citizens. Firstly, the contents should include understanding the generation gap and social changes, learning to manage later life after retirement, raising awareness of the current politics, economics, society and culture, and attaining extensive knowledge concerning health advancement.

Secondly, the curriculum should address emotional development. For this, it should include material for active work and living, skills necessary for an enjoyable leisure, adjustment after a spouse's death, getting ready to face death.

Thirdly, curricular contents should also embrace social role taking, learning through making and keeping friends, yielding responsibility in family and society to the next generation, taking responsibility as an elder in the family and workplace, and learning how to maintain a good relationship with children and grandchildren.

Fourthly, the curriculum should encompass physical aspects such as adjustment to bodily changes, regular exercises, foods appropriate for health management, and preparation for illness and weakness.

The tasks of senior citizen education can be divided into two areas: a social welfare aspect and an individual development aspect.

- Social Welfare Aspect

In order to solve the problems relating to aged people, the establishment of a national social policy is necessary. The Department of Health and Welfare's budget for senior citizens in accounts for only 10% of the total budget. Senior citizens receive little support.

Senior citizens' problems come mainly from the loss of roles in family and society and the depletion of economic and financial resources. Therefore, retirement should be postponed to later ages or we should consider ways to provide after-retirement jobs for senior citizens. Korea Gallup Research reports that 30.9% of the senior citizens of 60 years or more of age are employed in one way or another. Among them, 77.2% wish to continue to work. Among those who are not employed, 41.1% hope to work.

These findings suggest that only a national policy can address senior citizen's problems. The state has the responsibility to eradicate poverty and hunger. The state ought to safeguard the right to work for the senior citizens who hope to work, thereby giving social roles.

However, we cannot expect the solution of the problems of senior citizens if the government has limited budgetary resources to assist us with. Given that such resources are limited, we should look for other resources from community groups, religious groups, social groups, and individuals. Above all, prejudices against senior citizens have to be eliminated, for instance, the prejudice that all aged persons are feeble, unconstructive, and therefore, of no use. The personality of senior citizens vary according to their educational level, career, income and gender.

The future direction of senior citizens education from the standpoint of social welfare should be to develop programs which offer social services to senior citizens.

* Individual Development Aspect

In substantiating the status and roles of senior citizens, by means of social policy, senior citizens themselves need to develop positive views about themselves and their abilities. Even after retirement, senior citizens should be able to find their social roles and create a satisfying life. This gives senior citizens confidence and competence necessary for participating social life.

Besides, more programs should be developed and implemented in order to help make later life meaningful and fruitful. About 70% of aged persons over 65 years of age have little formal education. Even those with some education were not prepared for covering with the problems arising from their present social life. They needed to have functional literacy and numeracy, as well as job oriented education.

Current programs for senior citizen education, deal only with such concerns as singing, traditional dance, and recreation. This tendency needs to be corrected for the purpose of facilitating an enduring development of senior citizens.

Senior citizens education ought to be directed toward the development of new attitudes, values, knowledge and skills which are required as industrialization, value conflicts and human alienation become the major concerns of our modern society. Such learning must contribute to creating a new meaningful life.

IV. Future directions and tasks of Senior Citizen Education

I would like to conclude by suggesting some future directions and tasks of senior citizen education:

First, we need to redirect and reconstruct the ideas, purposes and perspectives of senior citizens education. With a new perspective, and through the cooperation of government and senior citizen groups, we can redirect senior citizens education not only to more institutionalize and legalize programs but also to reconstruct their ideas and purpose.

Second, selection of contents and processes should be based on solid research findings. The current programs in senior citizen schools tend to be based on convenience rather than the stated objectives. This tendency makes it hard to develop rational and adequate programs.

Third, financial resources need to be expanded. The current senior citizens education programs receive no external funding. Therefore, the state as well as local governments should commit more funds to senior citizens education.

Fourth, it is necessary to develop programs to meet the needs and interests of senior citizens. Senior citizens education ought not only to enhance students' knowledge and skills but also to buttress their effort to satisfy their needs and interests.

Fifth, senior citizens education must be focused on preparation for and enjoying later life. The contents of such an education should include social adjustment, fulfillment of needs, and development of a plan for later life.

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An Africentric Feminist Perspective on the Role of Adult Education for Diverse Communities

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Several terms have been used to describe the field of adult education. The most common term is andragogy. Knowles (1980) introduced this term to adult education literature in the United States during the early seventies. Since the introduction of this term to the field of adult education in the United States, adult educators have used it to describe the way one should teach adults as opposed to children. Andragogy is the education of adults, while pedagogy is the education of children. Both these terms suggest a way of viewing and addressing the needs of learners within the learning environment. Throughout the seventies and eighties adult educators have often discussed and debated the differences and similarities between these two concepts.

During the 1980's and 1990's, additional attention has been given to determining what other factors effect learning and the learning environment. Multiculturalism, Africentrism, bilingualism, feminism, womanism (or Africentric Feminist Epistemology) are constructs that have been receiving limited attention in mainstream adult education literature. These constructs have led to the use of techniques and processes that encourage different ways of producing and interpreting knowledge in the adult education classroom (Brookfield, 1986; Colin and Precephs, 1991; Collard and Stalker, 1991; Flannery, 1994; Hayes, 1989; Hayes and Colin, 1994; Hemphill, 1992; Ross-Gordon, 1991; Sheared, 1994).

The intent of this paper will be to examine some of the differences and similarities between the traditional views of adult education (andragogy) and the more critical perspectives that are now emerging in the field of adult education. Particular attention will be given to addressing the differences found between andragogical assumptions (Knowles, 1980) and the Africentric Feminists epistemological assumptions (Hill-Collins, 1990) that undergird the womanist construction of "giving voice (Sheared, 1994)." While primary focus will be given to examining the differences and/or similarities between andragogy and the Africentric Feminist Epistemological assumptions, multiculturalism will also be addressed.

Andragogy

As noted above one of the most popularized terms being used to explain adult learning and the education of adults is andragogy. According to Knowles, adults come to the learning environment when they are ready. The adults readiness to learn is often determined by a desire to resolve a particular problem. Unlike children who come to the learning environment because they have to and are there to learn content which will be used in the future, adults come when they are ready and need to resolve a particular problem. Most importantly, they bring a wealth of experience to the learning environment. Andragogy is based upon the following four assumptions:

1. Changes in Self Concept: This assumption is that as a person grows and matures his or her (sic) self-concept moves from one of total dependency (as is the reality of the infant) to one of increasing self directedness.
2. The Role of Experience: This assumption is that as an individual matures he/she (sic) accumulates an expanding reservoir of experience that causes him/her (sic) to become an increasingly rich resource for learning, ad at the same time provides him/her(sic) with a broadening base to which to relate new learning
3. Readiness to Learn: This assumption is that as an individual matures, his/her(sic) readiness to learn is decreasingly the product of his/her (sic) biological development and academic pressure ad is increasingly the product of the developmental tasks required for the performance of his/her (sic) evolving social roles.
4. Orientation to Learning: This assumption is that as children have been conditioned to have a subject-centered orientation to most learning whereas adults tend to have a problem-centered orientation to learning.

These sets of assumptions are often discussed by adult educators as an aim for creating learning environments that are reflective of adult needs. Adult learner's social roles as determined by their jobs and status in society are those experiences that educators seek to incorporate in the learning environment. Adult educators begin making association's between one's experiences and the course content. The goal of the adult educator then is to create environments in which the adults experiences are acknowledged and valued.

Multiculturalism

In the past fifteen years in the United States there has been increasing concern placed upon the need to address the multiple cultural needs of learners and workers in all settings. Educators as well as those in other areas of society have become increasingly interested in incorporating a multicultural perspective (also referred to as diversity or cross-cultural). Multiculturalists advocate that the American culture is a "mosaic or a tossed salad, made up of many groups with different characteristics." (Cusher et al., 1992) They see the "real American' . . . as one of many kinds of Americans, although one who often has considerably more power than others . . . Therefore they believe that it is the role of schooling to encourage, preserve, and protect differences." (Cusher et.al, 1992) Culture explains why people behave, think, and speak in a particular way. An understanding of culture and cultural differences is therefore seen as an objective of educators working with various groups of people associated with similar characteristics.

Multiculturalists view oppression as the act of submission by some minorities to those in the majority. They further contend that being a minority does not necessarily mean that one is oppressed. Therefore the term minority cannot be used to describe all oppressed individuals. This term then is used to express the difference between "the real American" and those who are not.

Africentric Feminist Epistemology: Giving Voice, A Womanist Perspective

Hill-Collins (1990) describes a research methodology aimed at collecting and analyzing data obtained from persons that have been marginalized. This method involves an acknowledgment of a way of knowing that is not grounded in western linear traditions. The Africentric feminist epistemology attempts to provide a medium through which one's interpretation of behavior and thought is grounded in the history, culture, economics, race, gender, language, sexual orientation, and religion of those involved in the research. According to Hill-Collins an "Africanists analysis of the Black experience generally agree on the fundamental elements of an Africentric standpoint." She further states that:

> In spite of varying histories, Black societies reflect elements of a core African value system that existed prior to and independently of racial oppression . . . These similarities in material conditions have fostered shared Africentric values that permeate the family structure, religious institutions, culture and community life of Blacks in varying parts of Africa, the Caribbean, South American, and North America. This consciousness permeates the shared history of people of African descent through the framework of a distinctive Afrocentric epistemology.

It is the intersection of these positions or realities that ultimately effects the way that one interprets, speaks, and reads the word and the world.

The Africentric feminist perspective is distinct from feminist perspectives in that it acknowledges the distinguishing effects of race, class, gender and other "isms;" while the feminist perspective acknowledges the distinguishing effects of gender and class. While gender and class issues effect European American women, African American women, Asian American women, Native American women, Latina women--all women--at differing points and times, each woman has distinct understandings of them. Hill-Collins concludes that. "Since Black women have access to both the Afrocentric and the feminist standpoints, an alternative epistemology used to rearticulate a Black woman's standpoint reflects elements of both traditions." (And I would add that this is true for all women.)

While these perspectives are not mutually exclusive it is important to note that the Africentric feminist perspective emphasizes the intersection of multiple realities. These multiple realities are interwoven into a unifying whole. These realities contradict, yet complement each other--they are non-dichotomous.

They are intersecting and interwoven points of reality--they are polyrhythmic. In other words, one's experiences can be described as simultaneously intersecting realities. People move in multiple directions at once.

Polyrhythms reflect the aesthetic essence of African art, music, dance and language. It is the multiple rhythms that flow and course through one's being. It ultimately induces a sense of self understanding and self worth which is reflected in one's words and thoughts. An understanding of these multiple standpoints or polyrhythms helps one determine what is required to survive in an otherwise unfamiliar, yet familiar and often hostile environment. The model below represents the intersecting polyrhythmic realities based upon the Africentric feminist deconstruction of an individuals world view.

'Gumba ya ya,' a term used by Tisch (Barkeley-Brown, 1990) which means 'everybody talking at once' appropriately describes the intersection of multiple realities. In other words, these multiple perspectives intersect simultaneously and help us interpret the word and the world. The following assumptions formulate the bases for acknowledging one's polyrhythmic realities within a learning environment:

1. Concrete experience is used as criterion of meaning: The experiences of marginalized people have often been omitted from our text, thereby negating their history, culture, race, gender, and economic worth. Concrete experiences is described as that knowledge and intuitive understanding of one's world and the words used to interpret the world. One uses knowledge which is grounded in a set of cultural, gender, economic, and racial norms. Knowledge along is not enough. One must apply wisdom which then is used with knowledge of one's self in relation to the multiple reflecting realities. This then is used to help one to read, speak, and interpret the word and the world.
2. Dialogue is the basis for assessing knowledge claims: The ability to share or communicate one's knowledge with others is the basis upon which we ultimately begin to understand our selves as well as others. We each take responsibility for the statements we use to communicate our way of knowing and understanding the word and the world. Connectedness rather than separation is gained through this communication process.
3. An ethic of caring which emphasizes the uniqueness of individuals, elicits appropriate emotion from the dialogue, and recognizes empathetic understanding: Caring for others and how it effects others is critical to this process. In the African American church the "call and response" is used to emote a particular feeling and sense of understanding the "word". For example, the preacher speaks in very emotional tones and pitches. He interprets and articulates the word in such a way as to emote a response from the congregation. The response often comes in the form of an "Aman," "Yes Lord," "Preach it brother." In other words the preacher puts out a call in the form of a parable that the congregation can relate to within their everyday lives. The congregation responds to and acknowledges that they understand what the minister has said. In the classroom, the call and response takes place through critical reflection and questions that place the

text and the words of those speaking them in a historical, political, economical, and social context. The teacher and/or students make the call and then respond to one another.

4. An ethic of personal accountability: As one learns to speak and share their experiences, knowledge and wisdom with one another, they must recognize that they have to take responsibility for ensuring that it's interpretation is understood by all. They must further recognize the effect of misinformation or mis-education of those who have not engaged in the discourse or dialogue. They have a personal and professional obligation to speak and interpret the word in such a way that they acknowledge and respect other ways of knowing and interpreting the word and the world.

These assumptions provide the framework for giving voice. To give voice requires the relinquishing of predetermined and prescriptive forms of teaching and learning. It requires that the teacher understand his or her polyrhythmic realities and provide the students with opportunities to explore their own realities. In order to give voice the teacher must understand that they have the power and control over others.

Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) refer to the exercising of power and control over others as hegemony. Hegemony "is a process of continuous creation and includes the constant structuring of consciousness." (p. 88) Moreover, it happens "systematically through and within the educational, political, social and cultural arenas." (Sheared, 1992) The teacher is the hegemonic mediator and dispenser of "knowledge". Therefore the teacher must take responsibility for finding strategies and techniques for giving voice. To give voice then means that the teacher understands that even though he/she is currently operating from a position of power and control while in the classroom, s/he has only temporal control over those who are in the margin. Even though the students are in the margin, this does not mean that they are only operating from a marginalized standpoint. Learners also have ways of exercising power - both within and outside of the learning environment. The teacher and students take responsibility for what is learned and how it is learned. The diagram below represents hegemony:

Giving voice is not divorced from content but rather promotes an understanding of the content and further seeks to underscore its significance in determining who's knowledge gets heard and acknowledged in the discourse. Giving voice means that the teacher attempts to move from the center into the margin. Students are giving an opportunity to share their understandings of the word and the world through dialogue.

As they engage in the "call and response," they gradually begin to take responsibility for reading and interpreting the word. They slowly begin to understand that they are the authors of their own histories, cultures, languages, economics. It is through the shifting of margins and centers that learners and teacher begin to uncover their realities with one another. As our multiple realities are acknowledged we begin to see how these realities have helped shape the way we read and interpret the word and the world.

Summary: Andragogy and Africentric Perspectives Contribution to the Field of Adult Education

Adult educators refer to the education of adults as andragogy. The application of this term to describe adult learning suggests that one is cognizant of the need to explore and use the experiences of adults when engaged in providing them educational opportunties. One's experiences are viewed as one of many factors that contribute to the way adults process and use knowledge in the learning environment. Andragogy differentiates adults reasons for learning from children's reasons for learning. Adults are problem centered, while children are subject centered. Adults are self-directed and know what they need to learn, while children are other directed and rely on others to determine what needs to be learned.

While the concept of andragogy provides us with a paradigm for differentiating between adult and childhood learning, it fails to acknowledge the lived experiences of the learners. One's lived experiences are grounded in race, class, gender, and other factors that contribute to their understanding of the process for producing knowledge.

It is the Womanist perspective that provides us with a framework for understanding the effect of one's lived experiences upon learning and the learning environment. Even though multiculturalists acknowledge culture and its effect on learning, it compartmentalizes the learners experiences into cultural norms. Oppression is viewed as that which effects only minorities, as oppossed to those who oppress. Cultural experiences are the only ones that educators examine within and outside of the learning environment.

Giving voice means that all learner's experiences are factored into the narrative discourse that occurs both in class and throughout the curriculum. According to Sheared(1994), "our goal as adult educators is to find ways in which we can uncover and acknowledge the voice of each student, to recognize that we, like our students, bring polyryhthmic realities to the learning environment; to find ways of disempowering ourselves in the learning environment so that students began to take responsibility for their learning. Moreover, we must understand that the information we proffer is grounded in a political, social, historical, sexual, racial and economical context and, that it is unique to us (in other words, we recognize that our subjective understanding of the world are different yet interconnected.)" (p. 31)

Andragogy assumes that the teacher is in control and maintains control over what knowledge is presented and understood. On the other hand giving voice assumes that knowledge is subjective and that teaching practices are grounded in prescriptive and predetermined normatives. Until we as educators begin to reexamine and assess these normatives, the perpetuation of the negation of other ways of knowing will a way of knowing that negates other ways of knowing.

We must acknowledge that knowledge is inherently politcized and serves to socialize and condition behavior. These normatives which often negate the voices of those who lack power and control over the discourse, must therefore be reassessed and analyzed, by both teacher and students. This means that adult educators must formerly acknowledge their inherent domination over the students and the knowledge that is introduced to the learner. Together, they should engage in an examination of how their lived experiences effect the way they read, speak, and interpret the word and the world. The reexamination of normatives and polyryhtmic realities will provide the educator and the learner with opportunities for interpreting knowledge based on a reconceptualization of 'what was and what is'.

Giving voice clearly allows the learner and teacher with an opportunity to communicate their oppositional worldviews. An understanding of these world views is essential to the interpretation of how their educational, political, historical, and social realities contribute to creating adult learning communities. Giving voice promotes connectedness while acknowledging the inherent uniqueness of the learner as well as the facilitator.

Andragogy acknowledges the learner experiences, but fails to address the teachers experiences. Andragogy assumes that all learners are self-directed. Africentric feminists perspectives also assumes that the learner is capable and able to determine what is and what ought to be, since they have lived in a world that has required them to develop an oppositional world view. It is that world view that then informs their understanding of the word and the world. This way of understanding is not necessarily factored into the andragogical interpretation of the learner; and is often percieved to be an inferior process by those operating from the center. They percieve that what is taught is objective truth. Even though this truth is assumed to be a universal given, it in fact is based upon the logical-positivist construction of reality. The andragogical perspective acknowledges this universal truth, while the Africentric feminists reframes and reexamines that truth in relation to its socio-historical, political, and economical antecedents.

Even though there are some apparent differences between the way that Africentric feminists and advocates of andragogy refer to the learner's experiences, there clearly are some sound precepts that adult educators can use from each.

It is clear that if educators of adult learners are going to use the experiences of the learners to foster learning, then we must begin reframing and reconceptualizing the way we view these experiences. Finally, we must seek ways to shift the center and margins so that the learners as well as our own experiences can be reexamined to determine the degree to which each one of us contributes to our own as well as the learners education or mis-education.

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i. "Womanism is a commitment to the survival and wholeness of entire people--men and women--as well as to the valorization of women's works in all their varieties and multitudes". (Walker, 1984)

ii. According to Sheared (1992) marginalization is the silencing of "others" by the dominant culture and it commatizes or negates their political, economic, historical, and social status within society. The following characteristics describe those who are marginalized:

1. Marginality co-opts or obfuscates individuality. People give up that which is unique to who they are, and take on the characteristics of the dominant other.
2. Appropriate resources cannot be given to that which does not exist.
3. Without appropriate resources or a voice in the decisions that are made, marginalized people's needs and concerns will not be entered into the discourse of change.
4. Marginalization excludes women's and other oppressed group's knowledge and understandings.
5. The historical uniqueness or the individual is forfeited in favor of a larger good. Factors that contribute to an understanding of the individual are diffused among many other factors.

iii. Among Africentric feminists and Africentric scholars, this term is being used to address the ways in which people of African ancestry construct their world views. Several terms are used by these scholars to denote a way of thinking and understanding the world. According to Nobles (1992):

> Afrocentric, Africentric, or African Centered are interchangeable terms representing the concept which categorizing a 'quality of thought and practice' which is rooted in the cultural image and interest of people of African ancestry and which represents and reflects the life experiences, history and traditions of people of African ancestry as the center of analysis. It represents the core and fundamental quality of the 'Beingness' and 'Becoming' of people of African ancestry. In essence, Afrocentricity represents the fact that as human beings, people of African ancestry have the right and responsibility to 'center' themselves in their own subjective possibilities and potential and through the recentering process reproduce and refine the best of themselves.

Asante (1990) goes further to state that:

> Afrocentricity is the belief in the centrality of Africans in post modern history. It is our history, our mythology, our creative motif and out ethos exemplifying our

collective will. . . ou are its ultimate test. You test its authenticity by incorporating it into your behavior. At the apex of your consciousness, it becomes your life because everything you do, it is.

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Adult retraining in Canada: Some issues

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Lyotard's (1984, xxiii) famous book, The postmodern condition, is the outcome of a study which the Canadian government has commissioned him to conduct about 'the condition of knowledge in the most highly developed societies'. It seems undeniable that the society of Canada, a G-7 nation, is one of such 'most highly developed societies'. So it seems quite appropriate that Canadian government has interest in the condition of knowledge which should affect the society it governs, provided that this condition differs from that of not-most-highly-developed societies. Actually, recent developments in the Canadian workplace, especially the upsurge of the retraining discourse, seem to suggest that some new condition of knowledge is indeed taking effect as far as Canadian workers' material life is concerned. In this paper, I shall attempt to elaborate some of the bearings of this discourse.

For two decades, Canada's business community has been emphasising its 'capacity to innovate . . . in the enhancement of skills and know-how and in the organization of work and remuneration' (Betcherman et al. 1990). The skills and know-how concerned were of course those of advanced technology often called 'hi tech'. The focus of innovation in the organisation of work and remuneration was on making business operations viable on the globalising market as characterised by internationalised finance and commodity production. The viability of business operation required 'flexibility and mobility' if it was to profitably adapt itself to diverse, often volatile market situations.[1] The 'capacity to innovate', therefore, meant the capacity to incorporate advanced technology into the production system and restructure the latter accordingly. The business community went even further. It lobbied governments of different levels to cut spendings and restructure public-sector operations in order to reduce deficits and thus help make Canada's financial market attractive to the border-crossing multinational investment funds. The governments reacted positively. Thus, restructuring became a widespread phenomenon in private and public sectors.

The thrust for restructuring bore directly upon employment. The hi-tech production system did not demand as many workers as the low-tech production system. Restructuring, therefore, meant downsizing and layoffs. Meanwhile, flexibility of business operation implied that even those fortunate workers who had managed to survive layoffs were at risk unless their skills were indispensable to the changing workplace. Permanent employment became increasingly a matter of the past. Finally, mobility of business operation suggested not only individual workers but the entire community could lose the opportunity of employment where the community depended on a single employer. Employers, on the other hand, had their own kind of problems to deal with. One such problem was that it was not easy for them to find a sufficient number of qualified workers to man their new hi-tech production system. Thus, as Hinds (1990, 303) notes, restructuring in Canada has resulted in a troublesome 'imbalance between job vacancies for skilled and professional jobs in general and the continuing high rate of unemployment'.

The recent retraining discourse emerged in this context. The author of a 1983 background paper submitted to an Employment and Immigration Canada task force, for instance, observed that as much as 40% of Canada's work force was already in need of retraining or upgrading or would be in need of it in the next few years of the decade. He also observed that by 1990, 'this group plus perhaps another 20% of the workforce [would] need to be trained all over again' (Feather 1983, 30-1). The bearings of this discourse may be conveniently examined in terms of the trainees concerned: employed workers, displaced workers, and the communities affected by restructuring.

Many employers were interested in retraining their own workers. As of 1992, one of four Canadian employers was providing employees with some kind of retraining. Especially concerned were those who manufactured for the overseas market using hi-tech know-how. For such businesses, the principles of flexibility and mobility required a small number of hi-tech workers to function actively and cooperatively. As Osberg et al. (1995, 52-3) take note of at the Aerospace Manufacturing's Nova Scotia plant, such businesses sought to form and run an optimal team of workers by means of 'leadership' and 'motivation'. The key point of leadership was 'equity in administration by top management' and that of motivation 'the social skills/attitudes of workers'. Naturally, employer-provided in-service training programmes tended to lay emphasis on development of social skills for the purpose of enhancing 'cultural integration' (Beckerman 1992, 21) in the workplace, more than on technical training itself. According to Robertson (Ibid., 18-28), such major employers like GM Canada, Northern Telecom and McDonnell Douglas preferred 'communication', 'interpersonal skills', 'cultural training' and 'supportive cultural environment' to technical training. The latter in their training programmes contained mainly specific skills required for the restructured workplace situation workers were hired to, for instance, the simple skills in a marketing department to use one Lotus 1-2-3 screen, mastery of the manual in a machine shop for operating a newly acquired Toshiba CNC, and so on.

Whereas, the employed workers were interested in technical training more than in social or cultural skills. The security of their employment in the rapidly changing world of work depended on their capacity to 'be innovative and responsive to changing technology and market demands' (Meltz 1990, 284). They wanted the sort of training which could serve their needs for expanding that capacity. A policy paper adopted in 1989 by the Ontario Federation of Labour (OFL) took technical training to be a 'right', 'a tool for greater equity' and 'a fundamental part of the job', and stated that the content of training should be 'geared to workers needs as they see them' (Ibid., 87-103). Since employers did not, and could not, satisfy such needs, the policy paper proposed to levy a new training tax on employers so that the state--a 'welfare state' as it was supposed to be--could deliver training services to the workers in need using the monies thus raised. At the same time, unions persuaded their employers to concede on a paid education/training leave and tuition fee subsidies for off-site retraining. And by the early 1990s, union locals at GM Canada (CAW), Chrysler Canada (CAW), A.G. Simpson (CAW), Ontarios community colleges (CAAT) and Canada Post (CUPW) had succeeded in obtaining such concessions from their employers.

Such efforts can be properly understood in reference to the seriousness of labours concern about the dwindling jobs in Canadian industries. In 1989, the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) had declared that Canadian workers were going through 'the worst crisis since the Great Depression' (Ibid., 104). Unemployment became a nasty question during the last two decades. The unemployment rate for the year 1995 was 9.5%, which meant 1.4% increase from that for 1990.2 In some regions the rates remained constantly well above 20%. If industrial restructuring keeps going on,3 and if the flexible and mobile Canadian businesses keep diversifying their operation and crossing their national borders,4 the unemployment rate will continue to rise.

Given that surviving restructuring demanded possession of the skills required by the hi-tech workplace, and, more fundamentally, that work was an essential condition for earning a living, the right claims to retraining should be valid to all workers--equally to displaced workers as to employed workers. The OFL policy paper, therefore, demanded retraining services for displaced workers as well. Resorting to the same concept of welfare state, again, it asked that such services be provided through state-funded programmes run in conjunction with public educational institutions. It also asked that displaced workers be provided with a substantial amount of income support (covering 90% of previous wage levels) in order thereby to facilitate their smooth transition to re-employment.

The position of the government, however, was somewhat different. True, the Canadian government entertained the concept of welfare state fairly faithfully up until recently. And it has earned a world-wide reputation. Its policies for displaced workers as well were reputable. It provided the unemployed with necessary job information and actually found positions for them. The 1960 Technical and Vocational Training Act, the 1967 Adult Occupational Training Act and the 1982 National Training Act added more positive governmental roles. The 1967 Act provided for funding technical/professional training at the junior college level and programmes for training in the actual workplace. The 1982 Act created a Skills Growth Fund for strategic training in the occupations of manpower shortage. In addition, the government has been providing--since the early 1940s--unemployment insurance (UI) services. Significant changes, however, began to occur since Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's landslide victory at the 1983 general election. The new government sought to perform major surgeries to the long-entrenched welfare-state principles in order to accommodate 'neo-liberal' policies, such as the elimination of tariff protection (free trade), the deregulation of business operations, the privatisation of crown corporations, business-friendly tax reforms, and deficit fights aimed at reduction in governmental services. The purpose of all this was the backing up of Canadian-originated businesses on the globalising world market. Retraining displaced workers in such a new policy context was considered not just in light of supporting displaced workers in their hard life but, more importantly, to reduce the government's financial burden for UI and other welfare programmes by rushing them to some immediate gainful occupation.

A plan which the Mulroney government worked out in 1985 for this purpose was a

Canadian Job Strategy (CJS). This strategy was comprehensive. It included programmes for subsidising employers training workers in high-demand skills, for upgrading employed workers' skills, for pre-entry trainings, for job development for long-unemployed workers, and for the single-employer communities in which restructuring had resulted in massive layoffs (Leigh 1990, 72-6). As regards the retraining of unemployed workers, the focal concern of this strategy was exactly the reduction of the number of those drawing upon UI and other welfare funds. This was apparent in the exclusion of recently unemployed workers from the retraining programmes listed above.5 The Mulroney government committed the largest portion of the CJS fund to 'Job Development' programmes. To labour's disappointment, however, it did not undertake an active role in such programmes. Instead, it chose to defray costs of retraining in approved private programmes. Labour advocates call it a 'privatization of training'.6 The results of Job Development programmes do not seem to be as successful as in the programmes of other categories, considered in light of the number of actual trainees (see Table 1).

A Statistics Canada study (Picot 1987) discovered a few interesting phenomena from survey on the CJS-supported retraining programmes for displaced workers. Since retraining was a necessary condition for re-employment, it appeared to the researcher to be likely that all displaced workers take advantage of the offered training opportunities. But the displaced workers reacted differently. The number of trainees decreased substantially with age. Very few people above 40 years of age actually took part in retraining.7 As well, the displaced workers at lower educational brackets (with elementary and some secondary education) and married women were less visible in retraining programmes. Furthermore, about 50% of those who had been long-term unemployed in 1983--that is, before the commencement of the 1985 retraining programmes--tended not to partake, among them again age, level of education and sex (married women) being visible factors. Finally, retraining in low-demand occupations ('the toughest market') attracted less trainees than retraining in high-demand occupations. These findings are interesting because they suggest that retraining for readjustment to the changing workplace is more sensible to the younger and better educated workers who are interested in competitively obtaining employment in high-demand occupations. Put in another way, retraining for readjustment was not a feasible option for many of those who were older, less educated and less motivated to compete in high-demand occupations.

Witnesses to a Senate subcommittee's hearing filed complaints that CJS's eligibility rules were 'unfair and counter-productive', and that they excluded the recently unemployed, the severely employment disadvantaged, older workers, individuals in threatened occupations, smaller communities, and young people (SCTE 1987, 14). But the Mulroney government did not take such equity-related complaints as seriously as its 'election mandate' to restructure public-sector operations and reduce deficits. It did not exhaust even the minimal funds it had allotted to the CJS operation. In the 1985-86 fiscal year, for instance, it underspent some 20% of the original CJS budget in spite of the fact that the CJS with the prorated expenditures had been worked out as the best money-saving plan (Ibid., 13).8

The problems of retraining displaced workers, especially the feasibility of retraining for such workers, have been felt more strongly in governmental policies on single-employer and single-industry communities. Historically, in Canada, numerous communities emerged and submerged along with a business operation--pulp mill, mining operation, hydro facility, and the like. Government operations such as military base as well gave similar effect to some communities. The restructuring of private-and public-sector operations placed such communities in a highly vulnerable and precarious position. Primary industries--farming, logging, hunting, and fishing--as well were putting the communities at risk which depend solely on them, for these industries were all declining.9 Recently, in this connection, serious developments took place in Atlantic Canada.

The world-largest northern cod fish stocks around the Island of Newfoundland have been depleting rapidly and at last hit a level at which their commercial exploitation became not feasible. Scientists are yet to determine the exact cause. There is, however, no question that advanced fishing technology assumes a large portion of the blame.10 In 1992, the Mulroney government announced a two-year moratorium on the cod fishery--the Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Program (NCARP)--in the hope that the fish would return shortly. The fish, however, did not come back. So in 1994, the new Jean Chretien government announced an even longer and extensive Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS). The latter disallowed catching not only cod but other groundfish--the fish feeding off the grounds of the ocean, such as cod, halibut and turbot--for 5 years and asked fishermen to surrender their fishing licences for compensation. Virtually, thus, the centuries-old industry reached an end, leaving jobless hundreds of cod-dependent communities along the coasts of Newfoundland. This event may appear to be similar to what happened to the community where the single employer closed its business operation. But in reality it was much more serious. It was so not only due to the number of affected individuals and communities but also due to the fact that many fishermen and fisherwomen were not educated enough to seek retraining for other occupations.

The government of course paid attention to such communities. As mentioned, the CJS included a 'Community Futures' programme for troubled single-employer communities. This programme adopted three measures. It sought to help develop small local businesses or some other job-creating activities, on one hand. On the other, it subsidised relocation and travel for employment elsewhere. Finally, it offered displaced workers the opportunity of retraining by defraying costs for attending classroom training in approved institutions. In short, the CJS employed a double policy of helping the troubled community survive if it came up with some viable alternative economic activity and, if not, helping it sink smoothly. Retraining was intended to serve this double policy.

The retraining policies for the communities affected by the cod-fishery closure followed generally the same veins but with some variances. Since the NCARP presupposed the return of the fish in two years, its training programmes included the option of retraining for work inside the fishery. In persuading the affected fishing communities, the government promised that the temporarily displaced fisherpersons would become 'professional' fishermen or fisherwomen, trawlermen or plant workers by the time the fish hit back Newfoundland shores (NCARP 1993). And it indeed committed a substantial amount of money to that effect. In effect, many fisherpersons--men and women--enrolled in retraining classes pursued upgrading in their fishing and fish-processing skills. Whereas, TAGS was worked out at a time when the dwindling fish stocks did not permit any hope for the revival of the fishery in a near future and, notably, when the worsening budgetary situation disallowed the kind of generosity which the Mulroney government exhibited in its compensation package. The retraining programme in TAGS echoed the double policy in the CJS's 'Community Futures' programme--career planning and counselling, mobility assistance and support for re-employment, literacy and basic skills training, and support for entrepreneurship (TAGS 1994)--with much reduced financial commitments (see Anonymous 1994).

Tables 2 and 3 show the results of the Fisheries Adjustment Programme developed and delivered by the Cabot College, St. John's, as part of the NCARP package. The fishermen and fisherwomen who were young and educated enough to resist frustrations were relatively persistent in seeking new skills or upgrading old skills through the retraining classes. But those who were not so seem to be pessimistic about the usefulness of retraining. About 45% of the 1,000 fisherwomen or fish plant workers interviewed by the Women's Committee of the Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union (FFAW) stated that retraining was 'not a viable option' or 'a waste of time and money' (FFAW Women's Committee 1994, 12). When their communities had practically no prospect of having alternative industries, newly acquired skills would not be useful unless employment was sought elsewhere. And given that the displaced fisheries workers had not been so well educated, the new skills they could pick up from retraining classes would likely be ones in which the labour market [was] already flooded' (Women's Fish Net undated, 4). This would mean searching jobs elsewhere virtually pointless.

This cursory examination of the Canadian scene of retraining adult workers does not yield sufficient grounds for judging on the usefulness of retraining in the rapidly changing world of work in advanced technology societies. Nor does it for judging on the effectiveness of the policies adopted by the Canadian government for coping with new changes. When low-tech jobs are replaced by hi-tech jobs, and when an industry yields to another industry, retraining may well be the logical option for policymakers to choose. But when such changes occur at a time of market globalisation, the effect of retraining policies will be significantly reduced. The reason is not that the government in place is unfriendly to workers, but that the globalising world market restricts the protective power of the individual state.

Jobs will continue to disappear as restructuring goes on. Single-industry communities will continue to break down as globalisation goes on. And state protection of displaced workers will gradually diminish. Adult educators for the 'postmodern' workplace of this 'most highly developed' society will have to read the true meaning of the retraining discourse against such historical trends. But are these trends a 'local' issue confined to Canadian adult educators when globalisation is an ongoing phenomenon?

Notes

1. This is what Harvey (1992, 141-72) points to as a 'postmodern' condition for business operation.
2. See 'Canada at a glance', http://www.statscan.ca.
3. With restructuring going on, Picot and Pyper (1993) report, a large volume of permanent layoffs occurs during both recessions and expansions. According to their study, over one million Canadian workers were permanently laid off each year during the 1980s.
4. Gorecki (1992) takes diversification of enterprise to be an explanatory factor for the firms becoming multinational.
5. According to Picot and Wannell (1987), among those laid-off workers who found new jobs in the early 1980s, 25% did so within three weeks, and 10% took more than a year. Of those who found new jobs, 55% gained in wages while 45% lost. Generally, permanently laid-off workers performed poorly in finding new jobs. Their unemployment rate in 1986 was 25%.
6. The Mulroney government's policy for the 'privatization of training' is well addressed in Calvert and Kuehn (1993). See chapter 7.
7. Kramar (1985) also reports a similar phenomenon from a case study conducted in the Hamilton region, Ontario.
8. During the 3 years from 1984 to 1986, the Mulroney government reduced federal funding for training and labour market adjustment by 32% (Ibid., 13).
9. Not many people in Canada are engaged in primary industries. As of 1995, out of the 14,927,600 Canadian labour force, 9,852,400 were employed in service industries, 3,653,100 in goods industries, 430,500 in agriculture, and 295,700 in other primary industries. Compared with 1990, service industries gained 5.3% in labour force while all the rest lost. See 'Canada at a glance'.
10. Weeks and Mazany (1983, 25-9), for instance, point to over-capacity in both harvesting and processing sectors as the foremost problem of Atlantic fisheries. Hinds (1995, 282) writes: 'Canada's Atlantic offshore fishing fleet was modernized and upgraded in the 1960s in an effort to compete with foreign fishing in the North-West Atlantic. The increased Canadian offshore effort produced large increases in offshore catches. Thereafter, the general effects of stock depletion resulted in severely declining catches despite continued high effort'.

Table 1.
CJS component programmes,1986-1987

Programmes	Committed money($millions)	Number of trainees
	182.2	70.9
Skills Shortages (employers)	41.2	17.8
Skills Investment (employed)	402.9	149.0
Job Entry	768.7	176.2
Job Development	63.5	3.1
Community Futures(single-industry communities)	14.8	N/A
Innovations (pilot projects)		

Note: 'Job Entry' includes women having difficulty regaining a job after absence from the workforce.
Source: Leigh 1990, 73. Rearranged.

Table 2
Year One results, 1990-91 (number of students)

Type of programme	Registered	To Year 2 program	Graduated
Pre-employment (< 1 yr duration)	24	2	66
Technology (2-3 yr duration)	27	25	N/A

Source: Cabot College (undated). Rearranged.

Table 3
Year Two results, 1991-1992 (number of students)

Type of programme	Registered	To Year 2 program	Graduated
Pre-employment (< 1 yr duration)	29	N/A	22
Technology (2-3 yr duration)	31	22	5
Adult basic education	18	11	3(at Grade 12)

Source: Cabot College (undated). Rearranged.

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Adult Education for a Multiethnic Community: Japan's Challenge

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1. The Illusion of a Monoethnic Nation and National Education as Instrument for Assimilation

Characteristic to Japan's modern education from 1868 to 1945 was "National Education." One of the purposes of this education was the promotion of a sense of belonging to the Japanese state.

Up until this period, however, no government had pursued such a purpose. Education had been conducted meeting demands from diverse communities, social classes and occupations, with no emphasis on cultural commonalities across such categories. The notorious idea concerning the supremacy of Japanese culture, with which Japan later justified her colonial domination of other East Asian nations, was not yet circulated. People believed Japanese culture--inclusive of Japan's religion, music, drama, dancing, novels, poetry, dressing, housing, and the manners of eating and sitting--was a variety of Asian culture. And in fact most people understood China, not Japan, to be the cultural centre of the world. In their perception, even Korea was more advanced than Japan culturally.

The dissolution of the Great Ching Empire in the wake of the Opium War and the subsequent concession of Hong Kong to Great Britain in 1842, and in the Franco-British occupation of Beijing in 1860, stirred up anxiety among political leaders about Japan's unclear future. In order to avoid Euro-American colonization thus the young Meiji government hastened the modernization of Japanese society and the construction of a nation state. For this, it fabricated an illusion that the Japanese state consisted of one single nation, the *Yamato*--a name which originally denoted the seat of an ancient Japanese kingdom. The government propagated the new idea that all residents of Japan belonged to the Yamato "nation." And it urged all of them to identify themselves as "Japanese" rather than as farmers, fishermen, craftsmen or merchants of some local village as they used to pose to be traditionally.

Negotiations with such neighbouring powers as Russia and China added to the new Yamato nation the Hokkaido Ainu and the subjects of the former Ryuku Kingdom. Both groups were coerced to adopt Japanese language, lifestyle and culture. The system of national education, which the Meiji government began to develop, was an effective vehicle for assimilating those peoples by such means as school textbooks. Such books stressed the cultural excellence of the Yamato nation.

Since the 1880s, Japan employed aggressive policies as to her East Asian neighbours. She joined such Western nations as France and Great Britain in the invasion of China to annex Taiwan in 1895 and Korea in 1910. Japan embraced the ambition to expand her "Empire" to the whole of East Asia. Here again, national education was employed as an important means for consolidating newly-acquired colonies, of down-rating cultural relationships between Japanese and other East Asian peoples, and often of distorting historical facts. Thorugh national education Japan sought to stress her superiority. As part of this effort, the Japanese ideologues reformulated the cultural map of the world. The new map portrayed the West as the most culturally advanced region and Japan as the second most advanced region. China and Korea were treated as less advanced regions. Undoubtedly, this map played a great deal of role in equating Japan's colonizing and assimilating efforts with her benevolence for modernizing the 'less-advanced' neighbours.

Sufferings from colonization and assimilation were not confined to the neighbours. The Japanese people were no exception. They were indoctrinated to be ideal soldiers armed with the "Yamato soul" or as obedient ladies. It was a very common phenomenon that school teachers applied to students corporal punishment in the name of the Emperor. Anyone who made expressions disapproving of government policies was accused as a *hikokumin* or "non-member of the nation." Any woman disobedient to man would be reproached as a non-Yamato *nadeshiko* or "non-Japanese lady."

This by no means suggests that the colonized and assimilated peoples suffered less. They were forced to abandon their own culture and become Yamato, yet still discriminated against as non-Yamato even when they embraced assimilation on their own initiative. These facts are important to note in order for the Japanese people to assume responsibility for what they did to other East Asians and to solve some serious problems of today's Japanese society.

Assimilation policies used to be justified for the reason of a culture's superiority over other cultures and for the "necessity" of consolidating a nation-state. In Japan's case, the main ideology in the drive for cultural expansion and construction of a nation state was the modern Yamato-centred way of thinking. This way of thinking still remains a big obstacle in the development of a multiethnic community in Japan.

After the World War II, the imperial Japan's national education was brought to extensive criticism as Japan headed for democracy. Assimilation policies as to the colonized peoples, however, did not receive sufficient criticism. As a result, post-war governments did not render sufficient support to the education of non-Japanese residents in spite of the demands from the latter for the preservation and development of their own cultural identity. To make bad things worse, the governments used to ban or discourage such groups as Koreans from developing their own system of "national" education.

Luckily, civilians organized activities since the late 1940s to support the "democratic national education" of Korean residents. They did so, at the time of American occupation, as part of their effort to develop a "democratic national education for Japan's independence from the

United States." Although they were unprecedentedly vocal, they on their own part lacked a clear vision as to what could be possible beyond constructing a "democratic" system of national education. The best they had in view was the linkage and solidarity among "democratic national educations." Consequently, they could not offer any substantial help in the improvement of the situation of minority students in public schools and adult education programmes. Like government officials, they too regarded such schools and programmes as instruments for national education for the Japanese.

Meanwhile, discrimination was widely practised outside the school. Residents without Japanese nationality were not admitted into the officialdom of central and local governments, not to mention running or voting at elections. Although they paid taxes equally as Japanese nationals, they remained deprived of civil and some human rights.

2. The Challenges by Local Governments: The Kawasaki Case

Local governments and community leaders took initiative to improve the situation of ethnic minorities. In 1986, Kawasaki, the third largest city in Metropolitan Tokyo which sits right next to Metropolitan Tokyo, established guidelines for educating foreigners and began to support community movements for minority education. In fact, the focus of the guidelines was the improvement of Korean students' situation in public schools. They stressed the necessity to eradicate discrimination against Koreans and to give them opportunities to learn about their own language, culture and history. The guidelines also emphasized the necessity for majority students to learn about the historical relationships between Japan and Korea, especially about Japan's responsibility for the consequences of colonization, as a way to building mutual understanding and cooperation.

Under the guidelines Kawasaki set up a number of *Fureaikan*, or Houses for Mutual Understanding. The *Fureaikan* are managed by organizations of Korean residents but financed by the city government. Their programmes include courses covering Japanese language for foreigners, Korean language, Korean culture and history, human rights of foreigners, and other issues. Not only Korean residents but also Japanese nationals and such newcomers as Philippinos/as and Brazilians, take those courses. They enjoy study, acquire information about the region's daily life, and develop friendship with individuals of different ethnic backgrounds.

Since the 1980s the number of migrant foreign workers, such as Phillipinos/as, Chinese and Brazilian-Japanese, increased in line with the multinationalization of Japanese enterprises. In 1993, the number of non-national residents reached 1.6 million, doubling the record of 1983. In Japan now roughly one out of eighty residents is not a Japanese national. In Kawasaki, the figure is higher--one out of thirty and, in some areas, one out of ten.

Although Kawasaki's guidelines were originally prepared for Korean students, the increasing population of other minority groups made it inevitable to develop adult education programmes towards a greater vision of forming "a multiethnic community." During the last five years, consequently, the number of city-run Japanese conversation and literacy classes for immigrants and migrant workers increased from two to twelve. Such classes are offered without tuition fees.

Besides Japanese language classes, there are classes to supply information about daily life in local community, such as social facilities, housing, education programmes, employment opportunities, and human rights protection agencies. Through such classes, as well, immigrants and migrant workers share experience in Japanese customs as well as cultural conflicts. They also find opportunities to converse in their own language and socialize with their own people. Finally, they make friends with the Japanese who come to help. The programmes have turned out to be effective in their settlement in a new cultural environment.

In order to get local residents involved in those programmes, the city-supported community learning centres in individual districts organized a "training seminar" for volunteer Japanese language teachers. The seminar discusses teaching methods not only in terms of how to teach the Japanese language but also in terms of how to understand the cultural backgrounds and needs of minority learners. The syllabus of the seminar includes the "History and Difficulties of Foreign Peoples in Japan," "Human Rights of Foreign Residents," "Japanese Culture and Language as East Asian Culture and Language," "Strategies for a Multiethnic Community in Japan and Kawasaki," and "Multicultural Education in Canada." The seminar is so popular among Japanese nationals that usually applicants number two or three times more than what seminar organizers can accommodate.

The volunteer teachers are mostly housewives, young adults, and retired persons. Some males in their 40s and 50s are also interested in volunteer teaching. Although these males are generally busy in their daily work, they squeeze time out of their tight schedule to join the teaching staff and, thereby, to broaden their cultural sight. Housewives and young adults in both sexes also derive benefit from volunteer teaching. Very often they say, "I'm very happy to have many friends with different cultures." They also say, "I feel excited to be helpful to the foreigners in my community." Some volunteers even choose to learn the mother tongues of the learners, such as Korean, Chinese, Philippine dialects and Portuguese.

The topics frequently discussed in the seminar include the following:

Which should be our priority, helping the learners or teaching them?
What is the difference between teaching Japanese as a second language to these groups of learners and teaching it as the first language to ordinary school children?
How to manage classes in which Japanese nationals cooperate with non-nationals?
How to link Japanese language classes with other minority-supportive activities in order, for instance, to improve public understanding of foreigners' social status?
Why are Japanese not open-minded to foreigners?
How do neighbouring countries deal with minority issues?

Why did European and North American countries change their minority policies? And what should be the roles of central and local governments regarding minority issues?

Many volunteer teachers acknowledge their being "ignorant" about their own society and culture. Practical experiences at the city-organized classes motivate them to reflect upon and learn about their own community. In order to facilitate their sharing experience as volunteer teachers, the Kawasaki Board of Education organized a special seminar, where three thematic groups looked into the real classroom situation, improvement of teaching performance in Japanese language classes, and daily-life supporting activities. Some of the volunteer teachers joined the information-sharing programmes organized by the municipal governments of Tokyo and Yokohama.

In short, the programmes are helpful not only to "minority" learners but also to "majority" teachers in enriching their life. In addition, they are meaningful in building public opinion in favour of creating a multiethnic and multicultural community as an alternative to the assimilative past in Kawasaki and in Japan. Some learners in Japanese language classes made presentations about their experience before the Japanese audience in study programmes on peace, violence, equality and social conflicts. Very often their presentations so impressed the audience that some of the latter resolved to join voluntary activities for entending medical care and full citizenship to foreign residents.

Supported by such activities and by the subsequently emerging favourable public opinion, the city government decided for the fist time in Japan to establish a "Local Assembly of Non-Japanese Residents" as an organization for campaigning for the full citizenship of non-Japanese residents. It also decided in May 1996, firstly in Japan, to employ non-Japanese individuals as municipal officers and specialists in spite of strong objection from the central government.

After ten years of experiment, the Kawasaki guidelines for educating foreigners are now under review for further improvement. New guidelines are expected to address adult education issues and minority rights to education in Japanese language, mother tongue, and cultural development and exchange.

The Kawasaki case is one of the leading experimental activities in Japan's adult education. In cooperation with Kansai and Yamagata, Kawasaki is seeking a nationwide adult education network for multiethnic communities covering approximately 3,300 local governments. The 1995 conference of the Japanese Society for Social Education was attended by some 800 to 1,000 grassroots activists, specialists at community education centres, and university teachers. The participants formed a standing thematic discussion group for "Migrants' Life and Learning."

Local activities and networks now exercise significant influence even upon the central government. In 1991, the Ministry of Education created a Section for International Education and started, through the Section, to fund public school's Japanese language programmes for migrant children. In 1994, the Department of Culture (DC) launched a project entitled "Promotion of Japanese Language Learning in Local Communities." As part of this project, the DC designated four regions, including Kawasaki, as model regions, whereby to spread useful experiences among various local communities.

In 1995, the DC organized a symposium, at which an important issue was brought up as regards what should be Japan's desirable language policy for the 21st century The panel posed a question of whether Japan should continue to be a monolingual society or should it be changed to a multilingual society. Considering Japan's century-old history of assimilation policies, this event seems to signal an imminent epoch-making change from monoculturalism to multiculturalism or cultural diversity. In March 1997, a report will be published of the DC project in Kawasaki recognizing, with the authority of the DC, non-Japanese residents' rights to learning and participation in the mainstream Japanese life.[1]

3. Overcoming the *Chunghua* Thought and Reassessing the Laoze-Changze Thought

The task that we now face is to step into a new community beyond the nation state and to overcome the conventional idea of "monoethinc" society. We are trying to create a new community in which persons of different ethnic backgrounds sustain self-esteem as individuals, enjoy their own life equally as others, and cooperate with others. We can consider three possible types of "residents" for the new community: 1) residents with Japanese nationality, 2) residents without Japanese nationality but with citizenship in the Japanese state, and 3) residents with neither Japanese nationality nor citizenship.

The context of this consideration is that multinational enterprises have become a major factor in the world economy. We have to admit the inevitableness of going beyond the national border not only economically but also culturally. We cannot go back to the time of a narrowly-defined "national" life. Transition from the nation state to a multiethnic/multicultural social life is unavoidable. Therefore, should we hang on to the outdated idea of *monoethinc* state, we might confront serious cultural conflicts in a new future. Our 21st century might thus become troublesome.

The transition requires adult education to change as well. Learning programmes should be made available to those who crisscross national borders. As well, learning programmes should also be provided to the residents with Japanese nationality in order to transform them to members of the newly emerging multiethnic/multicultural community. All residents in Japan should thus become citizens of an Asian community, of an Asia-Pacific community, and of a global community. The old, narrowly-defined Yamato nation as a concept must now be jettisoned.

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[1] I chaired the working committee of specialists for the project until I resigned in March 1996 to come to Honk Kong to conduct research about the situation of ethnic languages and cultures there.

Nevertheless, we have to admit that the conventional Yamato-centred way of thinking is still influential in Japan, and, therefore, that our trial is just at the beginning stage. At the same time, it is also to be admitted that the transition has already applied some significant impact upon some parts of the central government, which now consider policies for the new age.

Let us expand our vision to the larger, East Asian world. In my understanding, the kind of adult education programmes which Kawasaki experimented has also been tested in the neighbouring "Small Dragons." South Korea embraces about 100,000 migrant workers such as Chinese-Korean, Philippine, Pakistani and Nepali workers. Christian organizations and others run Korean language classes and consulting agencies on such matters as labour, health and law. In Taiwan, there are about 200,000 migrant workers from the Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia. In Hong Kong, there are about 200,000 or 250,000 "legally-imported workers" and more than 50,000 unregistered workers. Cantonese language classes are in operation for immigrants from China, Thailand, Indonesia and other regions. And the Asian Migrant Centre of Hong Kong is promoting information exchange among Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and the Philippines.

There is, nevertheless, a common obstacle, that is, the absence of open-mindedness among Northeast Asian peoples. Northeast Asians are, generally, not as tolerant, for instance, as Australians and New Zealanders. Where does this obstacle stem from?

According to the findings from my field work, Northeast Asians are proud of their own culture. So much so that they often look down upon individuals from less developed countries. One reason for this originates from the "national education" which Japanese colonialists superimposed on them. There are other reasons as well, the region's premodern history in particular. Northeast Asia used to house an extremely powerful empire. It did so for over 3,000 years. From this, Northeast Asians developed reverence for China--*chungkuo* or the Middle Kingdom--and arrogance over countries remote from China. Both the *chunghua* thought and Yamato-centralism as its opposite can be explained against such an historical background.

One of the main ingredients of the *chunghua* thought was Confucianism. Traditionally, this tought was the ruling ideology of China, Korea and Japan. In the processes of modernization and national building, as well, school textbooks promulgated and perpetuated elements of this ideology. True, Confucianism also played a positive role, for instance, of promoting a sense of social order, a hard-working spirit, and East Asians' pride about their own culture. But one cannot deny the abuse of this ideology by the political leaders who indoctrinated nationalism or blind loyalty to the state.

Confucius did not pay attention to the relationship between nature and human beings. Instead, he gave a tremendous emphasis to human society modeling after the feudal arrangement of the Chow Dynasty. The person whom Confucius idealized was "the Great Man" or the gentleman who was allegiant to his master while maintaining good relationships with equals and inferiors. This gentleman required good cultural skills including literacy, ability to play music instruments, and the power of self-control. Confucius, accordingly, aproved of the values of such "cultural" domains as language, character, music, courtesy, and stately manners--the domains in which most advanced was the Imperial China. He thus prepared the long-entrenched arrogance of Northeast Asians over the peoples of non-Chinese cultures, cultural chauvinism, and pride of their blood and nationality.

In order to justly assess the historical role of Confucianism, it is necessary to re-evaluate its counterpart, the thought of Laoze and Changze, which has also influenced the East Asian mind for more than 2,500 years. The Laoze-Changze thought focused on human beings as part of nature. In this thought, no difference existed between human beings and other creatures such as animals, birds, insects, grass and trees; both pertained to nature. Everything that existed was in the process of natural circulation involving birth and death. Most important in dealing with such natural things was to let them perform their individual roles as fully as nature dictated. Laoze and Changze stated that communication with nature was essential for the full performance of such roles. While enjoying artificial music, therefore, it should be noted that artificial music too is a reflection of natural sounds such as winds and waves.

From this viewpoint, it was not desirable to pursue reputation and status at the expense of the nature of life. Laoze and Changze, therefore, criticized the expansion of the secular kingdom with weaponry. In this thought, it is meaningless and rather silly to divide human beings by nationality, culture or "blood" and discriminate against persons of different nationalities, and so on.

Undoubtedly, the Laoze-Changze thought does not help solve all of our current problems. "Nation states" are still conducting economic competitions. Such competitions become increasingly serious as relationships become increasingly complicated between multinational enterprises and their home governments. Multinational enterprises have been supported by their home government in many ways such as subsidies for developing new technology. In return, they have been contributing to their home government some of their profit earned from overseas operations. Then, governments fight against each other for the benefit of the multinational enterprises originating from their own country. Examples of such multinational enterprises are America's General Motors, Japan's Toyota, and South Korea's Hyundai. Naturally, such "patriotic" propaganda campaigns as the "workforce literacy" movement gain popular support among nation states. And multicultural education is brushed aside for being "costly" and "unproductive." It is here not difficult to see the age-old ideology of Confucianism coming into play or ascending over the Laoze-Changze thought.

But there is some hope as well. We have to note that environmental pollution and death from overworking in the modern industrial Northeast Asia are exacerbated by Confucianism, for the latter teaches to work hard for profit and artificial comfort. These teachings are the reasons for the prosperity of many Northeast Asian multinational enterprises, as well as for the generallization of "problems." The hope comes from the very fact that Northeast Asian businesses have expanded the range of their activity to the multinational dimension. As their business activities expanded, so did various non-business connections. Consequently, various non-business networks emerged across national borders for such purposes as protecting the environment and ecosystems. Multinational enterprises also created opportunities of direct contact and the sharing of information, life standards, and human and natural feelings among diverse peoples who used to be divided by national borders. Such new developments prepare important channels through which to address problems common to different peoples, especially the problems created by the globalization of the profit-seeking work ethic. At this juncture, we can rediscover the significant bearings of the Laoze-Changze thought upon our contemporary life and adult education in the post-modern, post-industrial Northeast Asia.

In Japan, we have been employing Euro-American educational theories since the 1870s, that is to say, for more than a century. The theories have been useful in suggesting what problems we face. As well, we have studied the educational systems of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States. We have tried to discover both differences from and similarities to the Japanese system. And honestly, these efforts have been fruitful. Since Euro-American theories and systems of education evolved from the concrete contexts of Euro-American societies, however, many of them have turned out not to be applicable to the historical, cultural and geographical contexts of Japan, a society which was East Asian by origin. On the other hand, we have to admit our negligence of the educational theories and practices of our neighbours in Korea and China. We believed that the neighbours were "less developed." In doing so, we lost a sense of what was unique to East Asian education. This is to say, we lost the East Asian context of our own educational arrangements. Very often, thus, we mistook what was unique to East Asians to be exclusively Japanese, and what was unique to Euro-Americans to be exclusively Japanese. The result was isolation and frustration.

Time has arrived for us to develop equal relationships with our neighbours, and share experiences and cooperate in building a desirable future. Regional organizations such as the ASPBAE and the EAFAE (East Asian Forum for Adult Education) supply valuable opportunities for exploring the East Asian context and developing a feasible mode of adult education for East Asia's 21st century.

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Consideration of Selected Influences on Work Place Learning

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In this paper we discuss several factors that influence learning as it occurs in the work place and in other settings where learning is undertaken for the expressed purpose of acquiring or improving competencies which will be utilized in the work place. We have organized our discussion with five primary considerations in mind. First, we discuss current conditions in the work place that influence the demand for, and timing of, work-related learning. We then consider where work-related learning takes place, who controls it, and why. Next, we discuss the extent to which learning is viewed, and undertaken, as an individual our group activity. We then consider the extent to which the products of learning are utilized individually, in groups, or in teams. Finally, we consider how economic and social trends, and technological advancements appear to affect work place learning. Although it is immediately clear that all these considerations are interdependent, we address them separately, to the extent possible, for the sake of clarity.

Conditions in the Work Place That Influence the Demand for, and Timing of, Work-Related Learning.

Over the period of the last decade the very nature of the work place has changed. Personal communications, the movement of information, and technological enhancements to even the simplest of processes have made it necessary for employees to be continuously learning some new dimension of their job. The specificity of competencies required to meet ever changing standards and enhanced processes has made it virtually impossible for workers to maintain competence without ongoing opportunities to learn while doing the job. The notion that a person could be adequately trained prior to entering the work force and then be expected to continue to practice at satisfactory levels without further development for an extended period of time simply has no place in the current work place. Even the practice of moving workers "off-line" for periods of training in order to prepare them to cope with new work expectations is too time consuming and expensive to be useful in many present day situations.

What has evolved is a need for work place environments that integrate learning with every aspect of daily activity. Learning, in all its forms, must be seen as central to all tasks and hold a priority on a par with task accomplishment. In the remainder of this paper we will consider issues directly related to the conditions noted above.

Where Work-Related Learning Takes Place, Who Controls it, and Why?

Historically, the first phase of work-related learning has been entrusted to our system of formal education and may be thought of as pre-employment general education.
Among the myriad purposes of formal education there is usually an intention to prepare young people to assume roles as productive workers in the socio-economic order. From the perspective of the 1990's, it is interesting to note that until about 1960 American education seems to have had fairly clear tracks for the preparation of students who aspired to enter the work force upon completion of secondary school and those who aspired to enter institutions of higher education. Indeed, both employers and universities depended so heavily on the two track system of public education that it was nearly impossible for a person to move from one track to the other after entering secondary school. Those who learned a trade in high school were seldom expected to develop learning skills beyond those required for the trades. If a given trade was obviated by technological advancement, skilled workers often found themselves unemployed and unemployable because of this limitation. Conversely, those who sought to continue their education into college seldom learned a "useful skill." The term "college man" (in the context of the period "college person" would have conveyed no meaning) was often used to disparage newly hired, college educated men, who for all their ability to philosophize, had no practical knowledge. Such employees might be expected to use their education to advantage as they learned from experience, but they could not be expected to function as skilled managers until they had worked for some period after college.

Once our educational system absorbed the shock of the industrial revolution, the competencies needed for success in the work place remained relatively stable for over a century. During this period it was possible to train some people in the skills of fairly narrow and common occupations. Once learned, these skills remained relevant for extended periods of time. Other individuals might be developed, by liberal education, to cope with the dynamics of management, but even these skills remained relatively stable for long periods of time. With the onset of the technological revolution the competencies needed for success in the work place began to change so rapidly that employers could no longer wait for the formal system of pre-employment education to produce competent workers. All too often employers now find that neither those who enter the work force upon completion of specific pre-employment training nor those who enter the work force upon completion of higher learning programs possess the specific technical skills or the learning skills needed by their employers. An ever growing proportion of relevant work skills must be developed after the individual is employed so that skills constellations can be made to conform to the employer's needs.

Many educators continue to struggle with the tension between pre-employment education as a source of workers who possess specific work skills and as a source of workers who are disposed toward continuous work-related learning. However, employers have clearly concluded that work-related learning must support rapid changes in the competencies needed to accomplish the mission. More than that, it must continuously anticipate changes and respond in ways that ensure the work force is prepared to meet new demands as they occur. As a consequence, employers have begun to concentrate on learning that is undertaken during the period of employment.

If work-related learning must take place during the period of productive employment and require as little "off-line" time as possible, where does it take place and who controls it? Historically, employers have controlled work-related learning. They have conducted job task analyses, defined the array of competencies and levels of competence required for each position, developed the curriculum for training, and set the standards for evaluation. These processes have always been time consuming and have often failed to produce a competent work force in a timely fashion. The more complex circumstances and shorter "turn-around" times that drive the work place today demand more effective and quicker models to ensure that the work force stays ahead, or at least keeps up with, the need for new knowledge and skills.

How is Work Place Learning Undertaken and How is it utilized?

Concepts like reflective practice, action learning, self-directed learning, and learning organizations are becoming increasingly important in the workplace and, in some cases, are replacing the traditional notions of instructional design and training. Each of these concepts makes a unique contribution to a new understanding of the nature of learning. What they all have in common is a substantial component of learner initiative and control. Schon (1987) explains that reflective practice requires the individual to consider the effectiveness and consequences of actions taken during work. The goal is to identify what is going well and what needs improvement. The reflective practitioner constantly asks: "Is there a better way?" "In what areas do I feel my knowledge or skill should be improved?" To be sure, feedback from others is taken seriously, but it is this practice of reflection, followed by action to improve practice, that shifts the responsibility for work place learning to the individual in ways that were unheard of until recently. In this environment, supervisors are encouraged to view themselves as coaches or mentors.

Action learning takes this process one step further as workers come together to solve common problems. Revans (1980) notes the task in action learning requires that individuals look at old problems in new ways. Thus, engaging in action learning requires reflective practice--ideally, individuals come to the process having thought about, and critically reflected on, their actions, the consequences of their actions, and possible solutions. The defining characteristic of action learning, then, is the combining of the reflective practice of the individual with the action learning process of the group.

Long (1993) points out that there is more than one common definition of self-directed learning. For our purposes, we emphasize two commonly held beliefs about this construct. First, self-directed learning is not the opposite of other-directed learning. Rather, it is an activity in which the learner takes an active role, in concert with trusted resource people, in determining the extent to which external support for his or her learning projects is likely to be productive. Second, individual readiness to participate in self-direction is contingent upon possessing a constellation of self-perceptions including accurate assessments of basic learning skills, and motivational factors such as desire to learn, initiative, resourcefulness, and persistence (Confessore & Confessore, 1994). When these two conditions are met, self-directed learning becomes a natural, pervasive, productive, and measurable way of setting and accomplishing learning goals that have value to both the individual and the employer.

Self-directed learning is a common vehicle for engaging learning throughout the lifespan. As such it is important to consider the individual's learner orientation as it affects one's reasons for undertaking learning projects (Houle, 1961). Several studies, conducted over a span of 35 years, reveal that active members of the work force tend to exhibit goal-orientation as learners (Confessore & Barron, In press; Cross, Valley, et al., 1974; Houle, 1961; Johnstone & Rivera, 1965). Most often the espoused goal of work place learners is to improve their work performance, earn respect and promotions, and to change with the needs of their employer.

Self-directed learning is linked to learning organizations. The behaviors identified as key in these organizations are very similar to behaviors displayed in self-directed learning: openness to alternatives; ability to make connections between seemingly disparate issues, topics and information; creativity, including flexibility and a willingness to take risks; and personal efficacy. The capacity of a learning organization to adapt quickly and effectively is directly dependent upon how well employees learn (McGill, Slocum, & Lei, 1992). Several definitions are used for the term "learning organization." Senge (1990) uses a systems approach to characterize it, and includes key capabilities such as double loop learning, managing mental models, and holistic thinking. All contribute to an organization's ability to generate new solutions to problems, and to see the world in different, and hopefully, more efficacious ways. Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) maintain that, while knowledge is created only by individuals, organizational knowledge creation is a process that "organizationally amplifies" this knowledge through dialogue, discussion, and experience sharing. Within the learning organization, knowledge is owned by everyone. In fact, a key component of any learning organization is the open sharing of information and an understanding that everyone contributes to the knowledge base of the company. Within this context, learning is an underlying goal of all activity within the organization: it is a constant and consistent behavior for all employees and managers.

These premises articulated here: self-directed learning, action learning, reflective practice and learning organizations, demonstrate that work place learning is not time or place bound. Employees learn what they need to know when they need to know it. This means that formalized training programs, while they may still have a place within the learning organization, are de-emphasized in favor of an "atmosphere of learning," where learning is pervasive, natural, and informal.

Some External Factors That Appear to Affect Work Place Learning?

While a sound argument could me made that we cannot fully understand the complex forces that affect work place learning, we believe consideration of three factors provides substantial insight into the challenges that face us. These factors are economic trends, social trends, and technological advancement. Once again, we must admit that these factors are clearly interrelated and we consider them separately, to the extent possible, for the sake of clarity.

Historically, economic trends have affected work place learning in fascinating, though often destructive, ways. Consider the contradictions inherent in the following common assumptions about the economic/work cycle: (1) The economy begins to slow and sales drop off. (2) Employers must deliver better quality services or products in order to remain competitive in a shrinking market. (3) Because the present system cannot retrain personnel quickly enough to meet this need, the decision is made to reduce, rather than retrain, the work force. Simultaneously, the training budget is reduced. (4) In order to qualify for new jobs, or to become more competitive in their chosen field, employees seek work-related learning through traditional institutions outside the work place. (5) As the economy enters a recovery phase, employers again seek to expand the work force. Workers who have not sought work-related learning outside the system, have no new skills to offer. Those who have engaged in learning, often do not have the specific competencies required in their new work situation. (6) Employers re-establish traditional training activities in an attempt to correct this problem, but the system often fails to have the desired affect.

There are at least two critical flaws in this approach to work place learning. First, it is reactive rather than proactive. So long as we remain in a reactive mode there is little likelihood we will create a work-related learning environment that will enhance our capacity to cope with the rapid changes we now experience in the work place. Second, it relies upon employer controlled learning. This is simply at odds with the facts. For example, 80% of work-related learning occurs informally on the job (Baskett, 1993), and respondents with work experience report self-initiated learning projects more frequently than do those without work experience (77.7% vs. 53.9%) (Confessore & Confessore, 1994). We also know that workers undergoing "downsizing" report undertaking fewer work-related learning projects than do workers in organizations not experiencing downsizing (Confessore & Bonner, In press).

Consider for a moment our social identity as it relates to our work. For example, what is your first thought when asked, "Who are you?" Did you think of your name, or of your job title? Did you think of some life role you fulfill, and is that just an alternative expression of job title? Are some jobs of greater social value than others? What is the relationship between the social value and the economic value of work? Is there a social and/or economic obligation to contribute through work? Would you work if you didn't have to? What would you do if you didn't have to work? When you work, do you care about the quality of the product or service you produce? Do you desire to achieve excellence in the quality of your work? If you do, how do you assess yourself and what do you do about your findings?

All these questions, and many more that can be immediately inferred, must be continuously asked by all members of the work force. They must be asked from the perspective of the individual and from that of the group. Consider the role that work plays in our social structure. At risk of over-simplifying, we once again focus on only a few aspects of this issue. Perhaps the most critical questions affecting work-related learning have to do with our view of the fundamental nature of human kind. Do we believe that people, left to their own devices, are basically good, neutral, or bad? Do we believe people can change, that is, once a presumably fair judgment has been made about an individual's "goodness," should we ever again reconsider the issue? What is our time-orientation? Is there anything in the past that can help us deal with our present or our future? Do projections of the future productively inform our present?

The answers to such questions provide a cultural backdrop for understanding ourselves as individuals and as members of our greater society. They have differed with time and place and have defined major eras in the human experience. To be sure, they cannot go unanswered as we focus on the roles work and work-related learning play in our lives. For example, in our time technological advancements, particularly in the area of communications and information management have changed many of long held assumptions about work, and about when and where learning can take place.

Much of work protocol has been built around the assumption that people work as individuals to contribute to a collective outcome. Further, work has been viewed as location-bound. That is to say, the "work place" has been limited to a place where work is done (a particular work station in a particular building) and within certain time boundaries. To the extent that we interact with co-workers, it is often done face-to-face or over the telephone (each at his or her assigned work station). All this has, of course, changed with the introduction of computer networks and facsimile machines. Workers may log on to a computer network to receive, process and transmit huge quantities of information without ever leaving home. Indeed, they may sign on to do a little work at odd hours and from a vacation spot or moving automobile. Co-workers may meet in "cyberspace" to discuss ideas and exchange information, they may leave messages, graphic or text data in electronic "mail boxes" to be retrieved by any number of colleagues at any time.

These new capabilities affect work-related learning as well as the way we work. For example, consider Houle's (1961) learner-orientation categories, discussed earlier. Will activity-oriented learners, defined by Houle as seeking social interaction, find the interaction of the internet sufficient to their needs? Some have conjectured that the relative anonymity of the internet has actually relieved some of the constraints of face-to-face interaction. Others have noted that the protocol for verbal interaction is quite different on the internet because the visual or voice tone cues on which we have come to rely for feedback, are not available. Many people who are quite loquacious in person or over the telephone, are virtually speechless on the internet, at least for the present, because their poor typing skills limit their ability to contribute to the conversation. All of this also affects the value and mechanisms of collaborative and individual work.

Just as work itself has been affected, so has work-related learning. Many have already had to learn to work with a new software package. Word processing has almost entirely replaced type writing. Getting on and off the electronic mail system or bulletin board is now a fundamental survival skill in most offices. But the variety and volume of information available through the integrated databases of the world-wide web, the capacity to "meet and chat" with human resources, and the ability to conduct such activities from anywhere on or close to the face of the Earth, has moved us much closer to the day when neither work nor work-related learning will be location bound. How we cope with these issues as individuals and as groups of workers, how our employers value and respond to these new opportunities will most assuredly become a key reference point in understanding adult learning at the turn of the 21st century.

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A PROPOSED HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ADULT EDUCATION

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> Those who think about adult education or lifelong learning are, by nature, planners of the future, not surveyors of the past. In their view, education tends to be concerned with needs and aspirations; with imperfections and inadequacies in people, institutions, and communities; and with how life can be made better by learning.
>
> (Houle 1992, p.35)

In this paper I briefly detail the assumptions that underlie existing histories of the "adult education movenemt" in the United States. I explain my claims that the "modern" adult education movement is fundamentally post modern while its historians and many practitioners operate from within a modern perspective. I conclude by citing a need to move all educational historiography, including that of adult education, from a modern (Newtonian) to a post modern (quantum physics) basis.

Background

Recently I sat with faculty colleagues interviewing applicants for admission to our university's adult education doctoral program. A professor asked one interviewee to name someinfluential early adult educators whose writings coul be read with profit. After nervous hesitation, the aspirant named Aristotle. Faculty members exchanged smiles at the naming of an ancient Greek as an important adult educator. (The committee recommended admission despite this uninformed answer.)

Most U.S., Canadian, and British university programs of adult education have taught their graduates that 1919 introduced "the era of modern adult education"(Cotton 1968, p.1). This was the year that the Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction issued a document that is still known simply as the 1919 Report. It claimed that "universal" and "lifelong" education had become permanent national necessities. Using the 1919 Report as his platform, Oliver Hugh Stanley (1923) depicted adult education as The Way Out of poverty materialism, and bankrupt pseudo democracy.

With a heightened sense of crisis following the "great war," intellectuals in the United States took the Carnegie Corporation's challenge to form an organization that would elaborate and further the goals of adult education. Following "discussion forums" in New York, San Francisco, and Chicago, the American Association of Adult Education came into being in March 1926(Knowles, 1977, pp.190-92). This is the date that most U.S. adult educators cite as the official beginning of their field.

Current situation

There are only three book length histories of U.S. adult education, all from thirty to fifty years old. In 1944 noted historian James Truslow Adams published Frontiers of American Democracy; A Study of Adult Education in the United States. A decade later(1955), C. Hartley Grattan wrote In Quest of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Adult Education. In 1966 Malcolm Knowles produced The Adult Education Movement in the U.S., reissued with an additional chapter in 1977. Most regard it as the most comprehensive treatement available.

There is, of course, a much larger body of historical literature than these three books. Webster Cotton's(1968) On Behalf of Adult Education: A Historical Examination of the Supporting Literature was influential, as is Harold Stubblefield's(1988) Towards a History of Adult Education in America. And there are many monographs on specialized aspects of adult education.

A substantial number of historically grounded doctoral dissertations have come out of Northern Illinois University in the last few years. Some of these have gone from dissertation to book stage, though they have not yet had a major impact on the field as a whole. For example, Fred Schied(1993) wrote in his award winning Learning in Social Context:Workers and Adult Education in Nineteenth Century Chicago that "dominant adult education historiography has given us a censored version of our own past"(p.xii). Norma Salazar in Foolish Men: Sor Juana In s de la Cruz as Spiritual Protagonist, Educational Prism, and Symbol for Women(1994) issued a call for U.S. and Canadian historians of adult education to include Spanish language sources in their work. All of the recognized U.S. histories of adult education are Anglocentric. Except for a few dissertations at Northern Illinois University, most research in U.S. adult education remains ahistorical. As the Houle extract at the beginning of this paper suggests, adult educators have had little interest in history. Perhaps this is, as Houle implies, because doing adult education work is more exciting than reading about it(Houle, 1992, p.3). I suspect that there is a more profound reason. This lies in the nature of the historical enterprise itself.

Historiography

U.S. adult educators, including the authors of the "standard" histories cited above, have mistaken the activities of chroniclers for that of historians. (This is particularly ironic given the fact that Charles A. Beard, a premier American historian of his time, was one of the early presidents of the American Association of Adult Education. But then Beard never wrote the history of adult education.) Chroniclers list dates and supposed factual events. Historians, on the other hand, tell stories and explain their meanings (hi[gh]stories, the late Walter Prescott Webb, professor of history at the University of Texas, liked to say). Histoty is not primarily about what happened. It is fundamentally about who we are or hope to be or fear we might be. History is always our story. Is has drama and meaning because it comes from deep within us.

A few months ago, around the dinner table of a Korean friend, I had this memorably illustrated. As the evening progressed, conversation turned to Korean history. The only non Korean, I asked what I thought was an innocent information question. Half a dozen Ph.D. scientists and engineers passionately explained the numerous errors in Japanese accounts of the origins of Korea, even though that had not been the thrust of my question. And they weren't talking about so called facts but rather about mythological stories of pre historic events. More than two hours after the initial question, one conferrer began to laugh at the incongruity between the content of the discourse and the intent of the question. Then everyone laughed and began profuse apologies for the avalanche of emotion directed to a stranger who hadn't even asked about what they clearly wanted to discuss. Of course Korean feelings are understandably strong because of Japanes domination during World War II and the moral dilemmas that are still present as a result. The point of the story is that history isn't just about what happened. It's about our current state of mind.

Why have adult educators in the United States settled for dry chronicles rather than passionate narrative? There is one overriding reason that finds expression in several components. It is that the loose coalition of (sometimes conflicting) interests that fit under the present umbrella of adult education fear that hostile forces will overwhelm them at the first sign of internal dissent. So if you're not sure who you are, better not confirm your doubts in public. The results are (1) lack of definition--there is no comprehensive, agreed upon definition of what adult education means; (2) conflicting purposes--Human Resource Development coexists uncomfortably with Critical pedagogy, and (3) confusion of ends and means--professors of adult education critique the schooled society from sinecured chairs in schools of education.

Existing chronicles of adult education as a "movement" acknowledge but do not confront these issues. A presumption of shared goals has been a tenous glue holding together a "field" whose individual members hold deeply conflicting values. The most recent Handbook of Adult and Continuing Education contains numerous essays illustrating these and other internal tensions (Merriam and Cunningham, 1989).

Current histories of U.S. adult education share several assumptions: 1) All assume that "modern" adult education started in the early part of the twentieth century. 2) All specify antecedents that go back to the early European colonization of North America, though they completely exclude Spain's activities (even though Spanish colonizers were first and most successful and used adult education techniques more extensively than did the English). 3) All are Eurocentric, seeing no influence from thousands of years of adult education practices by First Nation peoples or thousands of years of African adult education practices brought by(forced) immigration from that continent. 4) None see any influence from thousands of years of adult education parctices brought by immigrants from numerous Asian regions. 5) Their operating premises are not only White and Anglo but also exclusively male. 6) Finally, all assume that adult education is "modern," and each author understands history from a "modern" perspective. That is, human beings have gone from savage to civilized in a slow process of evolution. Only in this century has enough general intelligence developed so that an organized movenent called adult education could emerge. If funding sources maintain and expand current programs, everyone can soon expect contentment as life long learners.

The critique of postmodernity

The term "modern" has two general uses. In everyday language, is means up to date or current. When applied to history, it generally refers to the constellation of beliefs and attitudes associated with the European and American Enlightenment: centralized planning, mass schooling, sophisticated technology, gradual improvement through human rationality and scientific(objective) research, and colonization of "underdeveloped" regions and people by "developed" nation states. Both Marxism and capitalism are modern constructs. Philosophically, realism (reality is mateial and inddpendent of our perceptions) and pragmatism (the realists are probably correct but life's brevity makes knowing impossible) furnish the ontological underpinnings of modernity.

On the other hand, "postmodernity" generally means a reaction against some or all of modernism. "Postmodernism replaces modernism's utopian faith in technology and planning with an ironic, self-mocking, and somewhat detached attitude toward culture and progress," writes Herbert Kohl(1992, p.119). "Postmodern culture is eclectic: it picks and chooses from the creative expressions of the world's peoples. . . . It is sensitive to the biases of Eurocentrism and considers them ironically and without the excessive posturing and boasting that was common during periods of European colonial expansion. It is . . .an attempt . . . to question the primacy of European canons and reposition Europe and the United States in a more modest and egalitarian world context. It mocks linearity, rationality, and the idea that technology produces progress" (Kohl, 1992, p.120).

Given this delineation, adult educators face a choice, They can continue to recite their modern roots--and there are many of these specified by the traditional authors. Or they can choose to see those aspects that are both pre and postmodern. This would mean claiming a vast historical terrain in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, and it would mean emphasizing those aspects of the movement that honor egalitarianism, community empowerment, cultural and linguistic diversity, and multiple approaches to knowing. The adult education critiques of modern schooling (including universities) is fully consistent with a postmodern view. Philosophically, it means moving away from the ontologies and epistemologies of scientific realism and pragmatism through phenomenology towards idealism. It means saying goodnight to Isaac Newton and good morning to Albert Einstein.

The Message of Quantum Physics

Of course, those schooled in modern forms of thought will object that history is simply a record of what happened, that we have no choice but to honor "the facts." This is exactly what natural scientists thought for three centuries. One of the central propositions of modernity was that of the "neutral" or "objective" observer. In 1927, just after the American Association of Adult Education formed, a prestigious assembly of physicists gathered in Berkeley, California. The concluded that it is not possible to make a model of reality that explains how things really work behind the scenes. They gave up on the possibility of neutral observers and objective reality.

One of the startling conclusions of quantum physics is that there is no such thing as an observation that is independent of the observer or of what is observed, To observe something is to change it. And its relationship to everything else therefore changes as well. To borrow an expression from University of London physicist David Bohm, at the most fundamental levels everything is connected to everything in an unbroken way that he calls "that-which-is"(Zukav, 1980, p.306). There is no way for us to know what that-which-is would have been without our observation. Also, we cannot know everything about anything. The more precisely, for example, we know the position (location) of a subatomic particle, the less we can know of its velocity. The more exactly we know its velocity, the less we know of its position. So quantum physicists don't talk about something moving from point A to point B. They speak only of a measurement of it at point A and a measurement at point B.

The same is true in history. We have only a few "measurements"(observations) at selected points. We fill in the vast spaces between through a process that artists know as "closure." This is what makes motion pictures (a series of still photographs observed in a relatively quick sequence) appear to move. It is what makes a recognizable image out of a series of disconnected dots. Actually we fill in spaces from our own experience and belief systems. Of course doing history, just as doing physics, means following agreed upon rules. We gather some "facts." Then we fill the vast territories between these pin points out of our beliefs, experiences, and values. All of the meaning comes from us.

"Reality is what we take to be true", writes scientific historian Gary Zukav (1980, p. 310). "What we take to be true is what we believe. What we believe is based upon our perceptions. What we perceive depends upon what we look for. What we look for depends upon that we think", he continues. "What we think depends upon that we perceive. What we perceive determines that we believe. What we believe determines what we take to be true. What we take to be true is our reality."

Conclusion

The histories of adult education of the earlier part of this century have taken the field as far as they can in the United States. It is time for hi[gh] story from new eyes. This means dropping the linearity of our current story. It means rethinking "progress" and its relationship to technology. It means going beyond one or two dimensional rationality. In short, it means turning from without to within in search of that-which-is. Colleagues in Korea have much to offer North American counterparts. Asian ways of knowing are closer to the insights of quantum physics than are modern Western approaches.

Adult education is at a cross roads in the United States. In the short run the easy path, and one that will appear seductive, is to stick with the old ways and the old knowledges. Many senior professors and practitioners may feel the strong pull of tradition. Confronting internal inconsistencies produces initial discomfort. Careers built on ego may feel jeopardized. Others, appearing to be avant garde, may opt for the glamor of technology. For only US$900 one can attend "the first conference of its kind in the world" in Anaheim, California (June 19-20) to learn how to produce" real time virtual humans" (Virtual Humans, 1996). Still others are already rushing down the grassy slopes of multinational corporations as gurus of Human Resource Development.

I believe it is time for U.S. adult educators to step aside from the easy path and remember the idealism that marked their decisions to work with educating adults. This will mean thinking again about definitions, purposes, and ends/means. The result will be a brighter path to the future and a clearer story of the past. The legacy is much larger than the past eighty years. A new historiography will mean that we can say, as did our (east) Indian colleague P.C. Lal(Bordia, Kidd, and Draper, 1973, p.5), "adult education has existed...from very ancient days--from the time when the art of writing was yet unknown.... It is an admitted fact...that adult education is entirely in accord with the genius of the people."

"Reality is that we take to be true. What we take to be true is what we believe. What we believe is based upon our perceptions. What we perceive depends upon what we look for. What we look for depends upon what we think. What we think depends upon what we perceive. What we perceive determines what we believe. What we believe determines what we take to be true. What we take to be true is our reality" (Zukav, 1980, p.310)

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POST MODERNITY AND CONTINUING EDUCATION: BECOMING CRITICAL LEARNERS

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Introduction

I am very pleased to be here today for this important conference on post modernity and continuing education. That the social condition known as post modernity impacts upon education seems self-evident - how could it be otherwise? The really interesting question is what are the implications for way we teach and how we learn? In searching for answers conferences such as this one provide an opportunity to grapple not only with the complexities and uncertainties emerging out of post modernity but importantly, how we might respond as individuals and collectively.

In the time available, I want to try and do three things:
i) to offer some critique of the post modern condition;
ii) to unravel the implications for education; and
iii) to point to some useful re-orientations that might guide our work as teachers and learners.

The post modern condition

Richard Bates (1993) in a thought provoking article titled *Educational Reform: Its Role in the Economic Destruction of Society* argues that the Western world is currently experiencing the economic destruction of society. Education reform in particular is a crucial mechanism in the economic destruction of society whereby the universal interests of society are subordinated to the partial interests of the economy. Bates identifies four aspects of the current international crisis. Firstly, the crisis of third world government insolvency. Secondly, in the first world the excessive speculation in real estate and company takeovers has produced a series of insolvency crises in the financial system. Thirdly, the end of the cold war has brought about a scaling down of the armaments industry. Finally, the political necessity of reintegrating Europe has slowed the German and other European economies.

In Bate's view two fundamental strategies to deal with the crises--plundering the nation state and the application of new technologies--each demands significant reforms in education. In the case of the former, attempts to dismantle the public sector through privatisation and marketisation directly impacts upon the education system. In the case of the latter, new technologies in the manufacturing and knowledge management industries both concentrate wealth while simultaneously depressing and marginalising larger fractions of the population (1993, p.1-2).

Like Bates, I believe we need to be more analytical of the forces that are shaping our work as teachers and learners. As a starting point, I want to begin by alluding to the changing set of circumstances described by James Gee as the transition from what he calls "old style" industrial capitalism, which emphasised standardisation, mass production, mass consumption and the tyranny of the production line, to "fast capitalism", where the defining characteristics are competition, quality, and markets centred around change, flexibility, and distinctive niches (Gee, 1994, p.2).

As Gee and Lankshear explain it:

> The 'old capitalism' was based on the mass production of (relatively uniform) goods by large, hierarchically structured corporations serving a commodities-starved, but progressively richer post-Second World War population in the 'developed' world. Workers, hired 'from the neck down', needed only to follow directions and mechanically carry out a rather meaningless piece of a process they did not need to understand as a whole, and certainly did not control (this is the heart of so-called 'Fordism') (Gee & Lankshear, 1995: p.6).

Whereas:

> The new capitalism is based on the design, production, and marketing of 'high quality' goods and services for now saturated markets. In the 'developed' world today economic survival is contingent on selling ever more perfect(ed) and newer 'customised' goods and services to 'niche' markets, that is, to groups of people who come to define and change their identities by the sorts of goods and services they consume. The emphasis now is on the (active) knowledge (and flexible learning) it takes to design, market, perfect, and vary goods and services as 'symbols' of identity, not on the actual product itself as a material good(Gee & Lankshear, 1995: p.6).

Economic activity has now become 'globalised' which means:

* a very high degree of integration and restructuring within and between transnational corporations and global markets;

* a more rapid, and more dramatic, than usual process of structural reorganisation within and between the economies of all capitalist countries; and

* very significant implications for states - particularly at the local level - as changing patterns of

global relationships emerge between transnational capital and local governments (Broomhill, 1995, p.27).

Writers such as David Harvey have observed a number of changes in local labour markets flowing from this transition. These include:

* a growing gap between core and peripheral workers;

* for peripheral workers this means changes in work organisation especially the development of subcontracting, outwork, intensification of women's role in the home, loss of security in the workplace, increase in low skill work, and increased control by employers over the work process;

* overall more authoritarian political regimes are required;

* changes in norms and values - reflecting the emergence of a rampant individualism (Cited in Broomhill, 1995, p.29).

The logic of the global market is that the market and the 'price mechanism' rather than government is the most efficient means for allocating goods and services in the economy. The public interest is best served through the free interplay of individuals competing in the market place(Spoehr, 1995, p.43). The problem, according to Bates, is that such views are deeply destructive of conceptions of education that are "socially and culturally, and even morally constituted"(Bates, 1995, 49).

Peter McLaren (1995) in Critical Pedagogy and Predatory Culture warns that we live in dangerous times. Not only are our public schools under attack, but the very idea of public institutions is increasingly being threatened by the New Right's call for privatisation. He argues that we now live in a predatory culture fashioned mainly and often violently around the excesses of marketing and consumption and the social relations of post-industrial capitalism (post modern society). In the words of McLaren:

> Predatory culture is the great deceiver. It marks the ascendancy of the dehydrated imagination that has lost its capacity to dream otherwise. It is the culture of eroticised victims and decaffeinated revolutionaries. We are all its sons and daughters. The capitalist fear that fuels predatory culture is made to function at the world level through the installation of necessary crises, both monetary and social. Computers have become the new entrepreneurs of history while their users have been reduced to scraps of figurative machinery, partial subjects in the rag-and-bone shop of predatory culture, manichean allegories of "us" against "them", of "self" against "other". The social, the cultural and the human has been subsumed within capital. This is the predatory culture. Have fun (1995, p.2).

Commentators such as Robert Reich make the point that:

> We are living through a transformation that will rearrange the politics and economies of the coming century. There will be no national products or technologies, no national economies, at least as we have come to understand that concept. All that will remain rooted within national borders are the people who comprise the nation. Each nation's primary assets will be its citizen's skills and insights. Each nation's primary political task will be to cope with the centrifugal forces of the global economy which tear at the ties binding citizens together - bestowing ever greater wealth on the most skilled and insightful, while consigning the less skilled to a declining standard of living. As borders become ever more meaningless in economic terms, those citizens best positioned to thrive in the world market are tempted to slip the bonds of national allegiance, and by so doing disengage themselves from their less favoured fellows (Cited in Hargreaves, 1994, p.520).

As Hargreaves noted the post modern social condition is characterised by accelerating change, intense compression of time and space, cultural diversity, technological complexity, national insecurity and scientific uncertainty (1994, p.3). According to him, "post modernity is characterised by technological leaps which make communication instantaneous, distance irrelevant and time one of the most precious commodities on earth" (1994, p.82). It can:

* raise expectations for speed of turnaround which leads to error, ineffectiveness and superficiality;

* multiply innovation, accelerate the pace of change and shorten the timelines for implementation so that people experience intolerable guilt and overload and an inability to meet their goals;

* lead people to concentrate on the aesthetic appearance of change, rather than on the quality and substance of the change;

* exacerbate uncertainty as knowledge is produced, disseminated and overturned at an increasing rate;

* erode opportunities for personal reflection and relaxation, leading to increased stress and loss of contact with one's basic goals and purpose (Hargreaves, 1994, p.82).

Within fast capitalism we have a whole new ethos, orientation, and discourse. According to Gee, workers are turned into multi-skilled partners; trust, co-operation, partnerships and team work become the buzz words as people become committed to the corporate vision/culture/mission. The worker is now a 'partner' and the 'boss' is a leader or 'coach', no longer telling people what to do, but giving them a vision and coaching them on a job that they control, understand, and actively seek to improve (Gee, 1994, p.6). Thus, we arrive at what Gee calls "the enchanted workplace" which is :

> a place full of meaning, support, learning, and collaboration, without much hierarchy and domination, in which everyone proactively takes responsibility, is given the support and "development" they need to succeed, and adds "value" to the enterprise . . . (1994, p.7).

According to Gee and Lankshear:

> Such 'motivated'workers (partners) can no longer be 'ordered' around by 'bosses', they can only be 'developed', 'coached', and 'supported'. Hierarchy is gone, egalitarianism is 'in' (Gee & Lankshear, 1995:7)

The paradox, according to Gee and Lankshear is that:

> 'Enchantment' can mean 'delightful' and, as such, stand for the claims that the new workplace will be more deeply meaningful and fulfilling than the old. But it can also mean 'to be under a spell.' And, indeed, our fast capitalist texts are aware of the tensions between workers who are in control and thinking for themselves and the possibilities that they might question the very ends and goals of fast capitalist business themselves, which would make them very poor fast capitalists indeed. But, then, what sort of 'freedom' and 'empowerment' do workers have if they cannot question the 'vision,' values, ends, and goals of the new work order itself? (1995, p.8)

As Boyett and Conn, in Workplace 2000 point out:

> The contradictions inherent to this emerging ideology of management make it easily vulnerable to abuses of power and the elaborate manipulation of people and values . . . The promise of the enchanted workplace is promise of meaning, with the corporation as the mediator between work and self. In order to cash in on the meanings of the enchanted workplace, however, the workers must cleave to a set of ends - 'superordinate goals', 'corporate culture', whatever - that 'like the basic postulates of a mathematical system', is posited in advance. Workers rarely have the opportunity to influence the content of those ends, let alone play an active role in their formation. . . . As a result, the necessity of allegiance to a set of ends over which one has little control can become a recipe for a dangerous corporate conformity, not genuine participation, but a kind of high touch coercion (Cited in Gee & Lankshear, 1995, pp.8-9).

What does all of this mean for education?

As Kenway, Bigum and Fitzclarence have noted this re-direction has effected education at all levels:

> the world of these fast capitalist texts has served, like a magnet, to attract and change the shape of educational debates in the 'developed' world, whether

> these be concerned with vocational and adult education, workplace training and literacy or schools. Just as it is not enough for workers in the new capitalism to simply follow directions, as it was in the old, it is not sufficient (it is argued) for students or workers-as-learners to just 'past tests.' They must develop 'higher order thinking,' 'real understanding,' 'situated expertise,' the ability to 'learn to learn' and to solve problems at the 'edge of their expertise.' These have become the leading motifs in the literature in educationally relevant cognitive science . . . (1995, p.3)

They suggest that such a view transforms the very nature of education:

> Under the influence of market logic, knowledge at all levels of the system becomes redefined as property to be selected and promoted according to its exchange value rather than its use value in various market places. It becomes a thing to be owned rather than shared; competition rather than cooperation becomes the dominant ethic, which benefits the few rather than the many. Further, knowledge production and all associated rewards thus become individualised and again sectional, rather than universal interests are satisfied. The quality of education is placed in jeopardy under such circumstances because in the new educational market place, yield, output, quantity, turnover and ensuring the buyer a credential overshadow educational purposes. Or, to be more specific, educational purposes and the notion of quality are redefined in accordance with the market context. Education is seen less and less as a means towards self-expression and fulfilment or towards the development of cultural and social understanding and responsibility, and aesthetic, critical and creative sensibilities. Its purposes become frankly utilitarian and its quality is defined accordingly (1995, p.37)

Fast capitalism requires new definitions of jobs, new qualities and skills from the future workforce and those who educate them. Reich summarises these needs in the following manner:

> First are the modern problem-solving skills required to put things together in unique ways . . . Next are the skills required to help customers understand their needs and how those needs can best be met by customised products . . . selling and marketing customised products . . . selling and marketing customised products requires having intimate knowledge of a customer's business, where competitive advantage may lie, and how it can be achieved. the key is to identify new problems and possibilities to which the customised product might be applicable. The art of persuasion is replaced by the identification of opportunity. Third are the skills needed to link problem-solvers and problem identifiers. People in such roles must understand enough about specific technologies and markets to see the potential for new products, raise whatever money is necessary to launch the project, and assemble the right problem-solvers and identifiers to carry it out (Cited in Hargreaves, 1994, p.49).

As I think about these changes and the implications for education, I ask whose interests are being served? The heart of the problem as I see it is the manner in which educational discourses come to represent competing interests. Again, Gee and Lankshear's excellent analysis of fast capitalism suggests that meanings associated with fast capitalist texts; terms such as 'empowerment,' 'self-direction,' and 'self-directed learning,' 'partnership,' 'collaboration' and the like refer to very different ideals across different communities. In their view, socially contested words such as democracy, participation and empowerment get caught up with different discourses-different ways of being in the world, different forms of life, different integrations of words, deeds, values, objects signalling different social identities. (1995, p.11)

Let me elaborate from Gee and Lankshear's analysis of self-directed learning. Fast capitalist texts argue the need for 'life-long learning' and the continual need to adapt, change, and learn new skills in our changing times; themes which are common to adult and continuing education. As they explain it, "both current educationally relevant cognitive science and fast capitalist texts stress that learners (students or workers) need to 'learn to learn', 'problem solve', and come to 'real' understanding applicable in new contexts." They need to be "'autonomous' learners, motivated and capable of 'self-directed' learning, not simply waiting to be told what to do, 'follow orders', or 'do school'" (1995, p.13).

Gee and Lankshear explain that in the fast capitalist literature self-directed learning refers to a training design employed on the job 'in which trainees master packages of pre-determined material, at their own pace, without the aid of an instructor'. Here the learner is directing her/himself to acquire skills and content that have been established as important by 'external sources.' These essentials include things such as production schedules and corporate goals. In this scenario, "self-direction seems to be compatible with a good deal of coercion and constrained choice." (1995, p.13) Fast capitalist businesses cannot succeed without workers fully accepting the ends/goals/vision of the organisation.

In contrast, as Gee & Lankshear point out, self-directed learning constructed from a left-liberal discourse of adult education would differ markedly from that of the fast capitalist texts. For instance, Brookfield's work endorses an approach to self-directed learning in which 'critical reflection on the contingent aspects of reality, the exploration of alternative perspectives and meaning systems, and the alteration of personal and social circumstances are all present.' (1995, p.15) The paradox is that fast capitalism wants workers to experience in meaningful ways a sense of "autonomous decision-making, choice, and self-directedness" and at the same time, to make "the 'right decisions/choices' and take 'the right directions' so far as their workplace learning is concerned." (1995, p.14) "Fast capitalists do not, however, want to promote critical reflection in the sense of questioning systems as wholes and in their political relations to other systems." (1995, p.17)

Becoming critical teachers and learners

How then, are we supposed to make sense of such contradictions and what can be done? Unfortunately, the answers to these questions are not simple. Let me begin, however, by critiquing the more traditional technical rational approach to education and why it is no longer adequate. I will then conclude by outlining some of the features of what Smyth calls a "socially critical" view of education which in my opinion offers a more sustainable basis for dialogue about the nature, purpose and content of education (1995a, p.67).

Traditional approaches to education treat knowledge as though it is "objective" and external to the teacher and learner. This form of technical rationality has dominated educational thinking and practices since the publication of Ralph Tyler's book Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction (1949). In this text Tyler asked four fundamental questions: 1) What educational purposes should the school seek to attain? 2) How can learning experiences be selected that are likely to be useful in attaining these objectives? 3) How can learning experiences be organised for effective instruction? 4) How can the effectiveness of learning experiences be evaluated? These questions still form the foundations upon which most teachers' organise and structure their teaching and learning.

This particular orientation assumes that 'good' teaching is mainly a matter of developing better teaching methods and techniques. It emphasises competency-based education, models of management, improved instructional techniques, cooperative learning strategies, systems management approaches to curriculum development and evaluation and behaviorist psychology (Beyer 1987, p.23). According to Bullough and Gitlin, there are a number of shared assumptions informing the 'training' approach to education:

> that learning . . . is primarily a matter of skill mastery, and skills are identifiable in advance by experts and context independent; that teaching is telling or 'delivering' content; that learning is behavioural change; that . . . teachers are knowledge consumers and not producers; that differences in biography or even culture are important in learning to teach only in so far as they enable or inhibit skill acquisition; and that standardised content and criteria are essential to assure program quality and accountability. Speaking generally, these assumptions are fundamentally conservative, emphasising fitting into current institutional patterns and practices rather than thinking about and criticising them (1994, p.70).

The problem with Tyler's scientific management approach is that technical questions such as "What is the best way to learn this given body of knowledge?" prevails over ethical and moral considerations. The focus is upon "mission specificity," "time on task variables" and "feedback obtained to make judgements." Critics such as Giroux believe the traditional approach is "ahistorical, consensus orientated and politically conservative." It is accompanied by top-down social relationships and increased forms of control and accountability. In the words of Giroux, the technical approach "degenerates into a euphemism for a mode of control that imposes rather than cultivates meaning." (1981, p.101)

According to McLaren, the dominant educational culture constrains teachers and students so that they see themselves as consumers rather than producers of knowledge. In contrast, he argues for a critical pedagogy which requires teachers and students to see themselves as creators of knowledge, who ask what should be taught, for what purposes, and how does that knowledge relate to their lives. McLaren argues that students should be encouraged to:

> critically appropriate knowledge existing outside their immediate experience in order to broaden their understanding of themselves, the world, and the possibilities for transforming the taken-for-granted assumptions about the way we live. (1989, p.186)

As Giroux acknowledges, education is a part of wider societal processes which reflect specific socio-economic arrangements that benefit some individuals and groups over others. Giroux's approach focuses on two broad interrelationships: 1) the political and ideological role of knowledge and how it is implicated in the social reproduction of society; 2) and the day-to-day educational practices and routines that generates meanings, values and social relationships. From this perspective, the focus shifts to questions such as:

* What counts as knowledge?

* How is such knowledge produced?

* How is such knowledge transmitted in the classroom?

* What kinds of classroom social relationships serve to parallel and reproduce the values and norms embodied in the "accepted" social relationships of the workplace?

* Who has access to "legitimate" forms of knowledge?

* Whose interests does this knowledge serve?

* How are social and political contradictions and tensions mediated through acceptable forms of knowledge and social relationships?

* How do prevailing methods of evaluation serve to legitimise existing forms of knowledge? (Giroux, 1981, 104).

Beyer summarises what it means to reject technological rationality in favour of a more socially critical approach to education in the following manner:

> A rejection of technological rationality thus carries with it both a humanising and democratising of knowledge and an individual and communal responsibility for action. In addition, a new approach to understanding must recognise the ways in which political, social, and ideological contexts are enmeshed with knowledge and action. Instead of pursuing knowledge 'for its sake', or for the cultivation of sensitivity, task, or cognitive discrimination it can encourage, it becomes valued for the actions and involvements it makes possible (1987, p.29).

Essential to this task is what Giroux and McLaren call the "intellectual work" of teachers'.

In their words, this means that teachers become:

> bearers of critical knowledge, rules and values through which they consciously articulate and problematize their relationship to each other, to students, to subject matter, and to the wider community. This view of authority exposes and challenges the dominant view of teachers as primarily technicians or public servants whose role is to implement rather than to conceptualise pedagogical practice. Moreover, the category of emancipatory authority dignifies teacher work by viewing it as an intellectual practice with respect to both its formal characteristics and the nature of the content discussed. Teacher work becomes a form of intellectual labor opposed to the pedagogical divisions between conception and practice, and production and implementation, that are currently celebrated in a number of educational reforms, The concept of teacher as intellectual carries with it the political and ethical imperative to judge, critique, and reject those approaches to authority that reinforce a technical and social division of labor that silences and disempowers both teachers and students (Giroux and McLaren, 1986, pp.225-226)

As Smyth reminds us, how we develop ways of asking and genuinely answering the question of "whose interests are served?, is one of the major issues confronting educational leaders today. For him, this means engaging in argument and debate about what is "socially just" in the way we structure education. It means asking questions like, how education works to:

* improve the life chances of the most disadvantaged in our community;

* create a voice for groups in the community that are generally marginalised or silenced;

* encourage teachers to celebrate difference and diversity in their teaching, learning and assessment practices, rather than conformity, compliance and control;

* provide the spaces in which teachers can genuinely construct curriculum that connects with the lives and experiences of their students, rather than to satisfying national curriculum linked to international economic competitiveness (1995a, p.66).

I would like to conclude by listing some of the practical guidelines suggested by Smyth fordeveloping a more "socially critical" approach to education like:

* A preparedness to endure discomfort.

* A willingness to try and change social relationships.

* Seeing how power operates in and through one's own pedagogy.

* Pursuing questions about whose interests are served/denied/silenced through particular

pedagogies.

* Questioning assumptions, beliefs and practices.

* Reconstructing practice on the basis of inquiry.

* Searching for the socially transformative potential in education.

* Asking questions about socially just nature of educational experiences.

* Adopting a process of simultaneously describing, informing, and confronting one's teaching and learning with a view to reconstructing it.

* Deconstructing hierarchies of authority, gender, racial and other forms of stereotyping.

* Looking at the familiar differently.

* Challenging conventional practices, ideas and ideals.

* Making the assumptions, practices and categories of everyday life problematic.

* Unmasking and unveiling hidden message systems in curriculum, pedagogy, evaluation and administration.

* Looking at circumstances and seeing how through dialogue and theorising about them they might be different.

* Understanding the oppressive and undemocratic features of education and how they came to be.

* Regarding the work of education as being historical, theoretical and political.

* Seeing teaching as a form of critical intellectual struggle (1995a, pp.67- 68).

Hargreaves succinctly articulates the way ahead when he says:

> The challenge of restructuring in education and elsewhere is a challenge of abandoning of attenuating bureaucratic controls, inflexible mandates, paternalistic forms of trust and quick fixes in order to hear, articulate and bring together the disparate voices of teachers and other educational partners. It is a challenge of building trust in the processes of collaboration, risk and continuous improvemnt as well as more traditional kinds of trust in people (1994, p.260)

Implications for the future

In developing educational guidelines and practices for the future, I think we need to do several things:

* Develop a shared understanding of the "new culture" among all participants (Fullan, 1991). This does not mean uniformity of views, but it should mean an informed acceptance of fundamental principles such as partnership, negotiation, and reflective practice. To develop these principles is to "reculture" learning contexts to create truly collaborative cultures among teachers and the wider community (Hargreaves, 1995; Smyth, 1995).

* More time and more flexible work organisation are needed to allow participants to discuss and negotiate the content, pedagogy and evaluation of their own learning. University staff, teachers, and administrators should have some ownership of its outcomes.

*Opportunities for critical reflection, analysis and action need to be built into educational programs for all participants, not just for the learners. We need to work together to create the conditions under which this critical intellectual work can be done, work which entails "moving outside the assumptions and practices of the existing order . . . (to make) categories, assumptions and practices of everyday life . . . problematic" (Popkewitz, 1987).

* Successful educational change requires a sense of what Hargreaves calls "positive politics" whereby power is used with other people rather than over them. This involves understanding the political configuration of learning contexts; acting politically to secure support and resources for the good of students; empowering others to be more competent; embracing conflict as a necessary part of change; and reclaiming the discourse of education (Hargreaves, 1995).

* The use of individual biographies is important in helping teachers and learners understand the complex historical, cultural and political forms that they embody and produce. These personal stories, according to Giroux, are attentive to the "histories, dreams and experiences" that students and teachers bring to school (1985, p.39). Significantly, they enable us to develop "a shared understanding of the social construction of reality" (Livingstone, 1987, p. 8).

Conclusion

In conclusion, I have argued that we need to challenge the theories, assumptions and practices that inform relationships between teachers and learners and education and society. Rather than reinforcing historically constructed practices we should begin to engage with the "intellectual work" of developing programs informed by "socially critical" views of education. Such an approach will be characterised by the principles of social justice, flexibility, diversity, responsiveness, collaboration, critique, and transformation. In my view, these ideas offer a more purposeful way of thinking about our work as educators, and at the same time responding to the complex demands produced by the post modern world.

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